

JOURNAL OF THE NORTH-CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY VOLUME XLVIII—1917

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BYE-LAWS RELATING TO COMMUNICATIONS TO THE SOCIETY.

1. Every paper which it is proposed to communicate to the Society shall be forwarded to the Hon. Secretary for the approval of the Council.

2. When the Council shall have accepted a paper, they shall decide whether it shall be read before the Society and published in the Journal, or read only and not published, or published only and not read. The Council's decision shall in each case be communicated to the author after the meeting.

3. The Council may permit a paper written by a non-member to be read and, if approved, published.

4. In the absence of the author, a paper may be read by any member of the Society appointed by the Chairman or nominated by the author.

5. No paper read before the Society shall be published elsewhere than in the Journal, without the permission of the Council, or unless the Council decide against publishing it in the Journal.

6. All communications intended for publication by the Society shall be clearly written, on one side of the paper only, with proper references, and in all respects in fit condition for being at once placed in the printers' hands.

7. The authors of papers and contributors to the Journal are solely responsible for the facts stated and opinions expressed in their communications.

8. In order to insure a correct report, the Council request that each paper be accompanied by a short abstract for newspaper publication.

9. The author of any paper which the Council has decided to publish will be presented with twenty-five copies : and he shall be permitted to have extra copies printed on making application to the Hon. Secretary at the time of forwarding the paper, and on paying the cost of such copies.

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Application for Membership, stating the Name (in full), Nationality, Profession and Address of Applicants, should be forwarded to "The Secretary, North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai." The name should be proposed and seconded by members of the Society, but where circumstances prevent the observance of this Rule, the Council is prepared to consider applications with such references as may be given. *Remittances of Subscription for Membership (\$5 per annum, which entitles the Member to a complete annual set of the Journal for the year in which payment is made) should be addressed to "The Treasurer, North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai."* A Member may acquire "Life Membership" by payment of a composition fee of \$50.

Editors and authors wishing to have their works reviewed in the *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* are requested to send *two* copies to the Editor of the Journal, one copy being presented to the reviewer, the other remaining in the Society's Library.

It has been decided by the Council that the Society's publications shall not for the future be issued to any Member whose Subscription is one year in arrear.

It is requested that Subscriptions be sent to the Treasurer at the beginning of each year. Forms for payments may be obtained from the Secretary, by which members having a Bank account in Shanghai, can authorize a Bank to make the necessary payment at the appointed time every year. This is a great convenience to members, and to the Honorary Officers of the Society.

For information in connexion with the publishing department, MESSRS. KELLY AND WALSH, LIMITED, Shanghai, should be addressed.



JOURNAL
OF THE
NORTH-CHINA BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR 1917
VOL. XLVIII.

SHANGHAI :
KELLY & WALSH, LIMITED.

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<i>Secretary</i>	Mr. ISAAC MASON

VOL. XLVIII.—1917.

Edited by EVAN MORGAN

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PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the Society's rooms on June 16th, 1917, at 5.30 p.m. when Sir Everard H. Fraser, K.C.M.G. presided.

In calling upon the various officers to read their reports the chairman briefly remarked that their finances were in good order, their membership was increasing and they had not had very many losses. He referred sympathetically to the deaths of Dr. Martin and Mr. Perry-Ayscough, the latter having been killed in the war.

The Honorary Librarian's Report.

The librarian's report was read by Mrs. MaGrath, assistant librarian, in the absence of Mrs. Ayscough, and was as follows :—

I have the honour to present my annual report as librarian of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The continuance of the abnormal conditions caused by the war, now well nigh world wide, have rendered the normal development of libraries impossible ; all exchanges from Europe are irregular in their arrival, and those from enemy countries arrive not at all. It seems also unwise to order from home books which, being out of print, could not, should they miscarry, be replaced. We have, however, been fortunate in picking up locally several volumes long desired, which are difficult to obtain ; for instance " China and the Roman Orient," by Prof. Hirth, several of Beal's books on Buddhism, and so forth.

The Society is in receipt of an extremely valuable gift from Mr. Freer of Detroit, this being a marvellous reproduction in natural size of his beautiful Ma Yuen scroll, one of the masterpieces of Chinese art. It may be described as a veritable triumph of photography.

That interest in Far Eastern affairs is greater than of yore is evidenced by the fact that the library is used by resident members in ever increasing numbers, while those members who live in the interior, seem more and more anxious to avail themselves of the privileges granted to those who pay the registered postage on books they desire to take from the library.

A word in this connexion ; it is the aim of the council to render the services of the library as general and as far reaching as possible and to this end they have extended the privilege referred to, to non-resident members. These must, however, and in the main are, be willing to fulfil their obligations to the Society. There are a few, however, who treat this matter in a most casual manner, who fail to return books at the appointed time, whose memory must be continually jogged and who eventually are unable to produce the required volume. Their's, of course, is the responsibility of replacing it (and books which cannot be procured are not sent away from Shanghai), but the whole affair entails much unnecessary correspondence and a certain amount of risk and we feel that, should members continue to regard their liabilities so lightly, we shall be obliged to withdraw the privilege so far accorded. This would be a hardship to a number of earnest students who are engaged in useful work : it is hoped that no such step may prove necessary.

A reprint of the class catalogue, now sadly out of date, is urgently needed and will be undertaken as soon as circumstances permit.

Routine work has proceeded smoothly and the staff have performed their duties efficiently.

I have again to record my deep appreciation of the invaluable services rendered by Mrs. MaGrath.

The Honorary Editor's Report.

The Rev. Evan Morgan, editor of the "Journal," announced that the periodical would be late this year, but promised that it would contain much good reading matter, including something from Mr. Lanning which would be bound to give rise to controversy.

The Honorary Treasurer's Report.

The Secretary read the report in Mr. Hynd's absence.

NORTH CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

In Account with the Honorary Treasurer of the Society.

CASH ACCOUNT, JUNE 1ST, 1916, TO MAY 31ST, 1917.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
Balance at Credit, 31st May, 1916	...	Museum ...	\$ 279.20
Fees of Members :—		Library ...	201.05
Annual ...	...	Journal ...	928.05
Life... ..	...	Exhibitions ...	12.00
Municipal Grants :—		Salaries & Wages ...	789.60
International ...	...	Stationery ...	53.93
French ...	...	Postage ...	32.65
Interest on Debentures :—		Public Meetings ...	141.39
Mackenzie & Co., Ltd. ...	\$ 58.05	Building Maintenance (Light, Heat, Water)	140.84
Shanghai Waterworks Co., Ltd. ...	33.22	" Improvements ...	93.12
Sale of Museum Duplicates	91.27	Taxes ...	219.48
	268.60	Furniture ...	171.40
		Insurance ...	147.38
		Interest on Recreation Fund Loan ...	34.67
		Stewart Lockhart Coin Book—Cost of printing 600 books & prospectus	\$953.78
		less proceeds sales of 50 books	311.10
			642.68
		Purchase of Debentures (Life Membership Reserve Fund)	554.95
		Sundries ..	35.25
		Cash held by Secretary	200.—
		Balance at Credit, 31st May, 1917 with H. & S. B. Corpn.	1,353.05
			1,553.05
			\$6,033.69

Andited and found correct,

(Signed) A. FERGUSSON

(Signed) R. R. HYND,

Hon. Treasurer,

Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch.

Shanghai, June 13th, 1917.

The Honorary Curator's Report.

Dr. Stanley, the curator to the museum, in his report said :—

The museum collection has been satisfactorily maintained throughout the year. The bird and mammal collections have been thoroughly overhauled.

Especial work in connexion with the reptiles and amphibia of China has been continued and a satisfactory addition to the collection has been made during the year.

Some attention has been devoted to Chinese insects, particularly with regard to the arrangement of an educational exhibit wherein the main features of each order of insects has been shown on a series of boards. Characteristic specimens of each order are arranged in a simple manner in groups and families with a short description, having the object of teaching neatness, order and classification to school children and others. Perhaps in no other way can the wonderful precision and incredible beauty and perfection of nature be better demonstrated.

The limitation of Chinese visitors to two afternoons a week has resulted in greatly increased cleanliness and comfort in the museum.

Duplicates of birds, reptiles, amphibia, insects, etc. are available for disposal by exchange or sale. During the year under review receipts from sale of duplicates amounted to \$260 which has reduced the expenditure incurred in collecting specimens in recent years amounting to over \$1,000.

Upwards of 400 specimens have been added to the collection during the year, mostly by presentation. I am particularly fortunate in being able to thank some 20 friends of the museum for such donations, particulars of which will be found in the "Journal."

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS
FROM JUNE 1, 1916, TO MAY 31, 1917

	PRESENTED BY
Naia Naia Atra (4), Trimeresurus gramineus (3), Hy- psirhina sinensis (3), Dipsas multimaculata (3), Acanthosaura lamnidentata (3), Bungarus candi- dus, Liolepis reevesi (3), Eumeces sinensis, Zamenis mucosus, Tropidonotus piscator, Scolopendra subspinipes, Dipsas multimaculata, Zamenis korros, Distaira cyanocincta, Bufo melanostictus, Scorpions (3), Sea horse ; from Hoihow	C. Talbot Bowring, Esq.
Nest of Fly catcher with 4 eggs, Shanghai. 40 corals, seaweeds, etc.. from submarine cable near Luzon, Philippine Islands	J. P. Christiansen, Esq.
A number of samples of dredgings and insects from various points in the Far East at Sea miscellaneous exhibits from Tibetan Border. (loan)	Captain H. E. Laver Rev. James Hutson
Coleoptera, 126 species, from Japan	John E. A. Lewis, Esq.
Attacus cynthia, Shanghai	A. O. Forsyth, Esq.
Sea Horse (Hippocampus brevirostris) ?, found in cleft of rock some 800' above plain near Tsingchowfu, Shantung	Rev. S. Couling
Hippocampus (brevirostris?), (2)	N. J. Moosa, Esq.
Anthracite coal from Tonquin	Rev. J. E. Cardwell
Skin of Lynx from Tibet	Dr. W. M. Hardy
Longicorn beetle, grub of which destroys the peach tree, from Anking	R. Young, Esq.
2 specimens Wood Opal enclosing Precious Opal, from Lightning Ridge, N. S. Wales	S. J. Deeks, Esq.
Ibex head and Gt. Northern Diver (Loan)	Shanghai Gun Club.
Attacus selene and eggs	J. W. Hewett, Esq.
Golden Pheasant, Gallinule and Stork	E. S. Benbow Rowe, Esq.
Tropidonotus piscator, Zamenis mucosus Halcyon pileata, and Urocissa sinensis from Foochow	W. O. Lloyd, Esq.
5 Prehistoric implements and 1 fossil (to complete collection received December 2, 1914, and des- cribed Journal R.A.S. N.C.B. 1917) from Szechuen. Banks of Yangtze and Min Rivers between Lu- chow and Weichow	J. Huston Edgar, Esq.

Shell from Hongkong	H. Spiegler, Esq.
<i>Lycodon rufozonatus</i> from Pingchiao Quarry	D. J. Stuart Murray, Esq.
Set of Sikh religious emblems (mounted on card).	
Sikh ceremonial knife and scabbard. 10 vols.	
Pekin Gazette. 1 Pagoda bell with swallow tail clapper. Wood clamp from Junk sunk in Astraea channel 60 years ago	W. R. Kahler, Esq.
<i>Simotes cyclurus</i> (2) from Tungung	W. F. Tyler, Esq.
<i>Simotes violaceus</i> from Spider Island	C. F. Kee, Esq.
Copper Pyrites and Cinnabar from Voong Waung Thing, Hunan	Dong Tsau-iung
	ARTHUR STANLEY, <i>Honorary Curator.</i>

The Honorary Secretary's Report.

Sixty years have passed since this Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was first established, and during the year just closed, the activities of the Society have been well maintained; the membership has increased, and the attendances at Lectures have been very gratifying; from which it is evident that the N. C. B. R. A. S. continues to have a useful place in China, and its objects are increasingly appreciated.

The Council has met nine times during the year, and has given careful consideration to the affairs of the Society. The loss of Mr. J. B. A. Mackinnon by death has been deeply regretted; a Minute of condolence was sent to the parents and other relatives on behalf of the Society. Of the business transacted, but little need be said in this Report. The Minutes are available for any member to see on request.

Sixty-seven new members have been elected, the names being :—

Mark W. Brown, G. S. B. Cushnie, W. J. B. Fletcher, J. H. Gilby, J. Frank Jones, H. Schroder, H. Von Heidenstam, Henry B. Keeler, Joseph E. Ollerton, Charles Kliene, P. M. B. Lake, Mrs. W. A. Martin, E. W. Mead, Charles Muller, E. E. Parsons, B. H. Paddock, Mrs. J. Quin, P. L. Raeburn, Ernest W. Sawdon, E. J. Westbrook, Peter N. Rathvon, S. A. Klubiem, E. C. Lobenstone, Miss Laura M. White, Mrs. Burns, E. S. Thellefsen,

Edward Evans, Joseph J. Evans, Mrs. S. Couling, C. K. Edmunds, F. M. Neild, J. B. Grant, Miss M. M. Moninger, T. W. Bateman, W. N. Fergusson, J. L. Stewart, Robert K. Veryard, L. G. Phillips, John A. Ely, Mrs. J. A. Ely, W. B. Cole, W. H. Adolph, Miss Louise Hammond, Frank Newcomb, W. B. Scranton, M. H. A. Ouskouli, P. T. Bryant, D. C. Edmonston, J. Preston Maxwell, Robert Platt, Emil Luthy, A. H. H. Rees, W. Howells, Mrs. F. A. Fairchild, M. Wilden, V. Segalen, J. Herve Bazin, J. C. Huston, Darre Klein, D. McGrew, G. T. Sargent, Watts O. Pye, G. A. Sophokloff, A. D. Blackburn, Shimbei Kunisawa, J. P. Islef.

There have been eight resignations, viz :—Dr. Betheke, H. Goffe, C. C. Connell, T. Ibsen, L. H. Lawford, J. W. Hansteen, Dr. M. F. Newell, Jacob Speicher.

By deaths we have lost 6 members :—J. B. A. Mackinnon, W. A. P. Martin, F. D. Cheshire, H. G. C. Perry-Ayscough, A. W. Lee, J. Langley.

It is fitting that special mention should be made of the decease of Dr. W. A. P. Martin, one of our Honorary Members, who, at the time of his death, was senior Member of the Society, having been elected in 1864, and being a member for 52 years. In past years Dr. Martin took an active and valuable interest in the Society, and for over 60 years he did excellent work in promoting good understanding between the East and the West.

Many names have, unfortunately, annually to be erased, because the subscriptions due have not been received. Reasonable latitude in this direction is allowed, and repeated attempts are made to secure the desired response, and when these fail, the rule as to defaulters has to be applied. 25 names have been thus removed from our list this year, leaving a present membership of 503, a net gain of 28 over last year, and the largest total in the Society's history.

Eight public meetings have been held, all of which were well attended. The Papers read to the Society were :—

“The T'ai P'ings in Kiangsu,” by J. C. Carter, Esq. (Oct. 26.)

“The Buddhist Temples of the Kongo-san, Korea,” by Miss H. C. Bowser, (Nov. 23.)

“Magical Practice in China,” by Dr. Herbert Chatley.
(Dec. 14th.)

“The Country and some Customs of the Man Tzu of West China,” by Mr. J. Huston Edgar, F.R.G.S. (Jan. 18th.)

“Peak of the East, T'ai Shan.” by Mrs. Ayscough.
(Feb. 22nd.)

“The Kinship of the English and Chinese Languages,” by George Lanning, Esq. (April 26th.)

“Recent Discoveries in Ancient Chinese Sculpture,” by Dr. Victor Segalen, (May 4th.)

On April 4th, there was an Exhibition of Antique Chinese Rugs, by Mrs. V. Meyer and Mr. T. Raaschou, accompanied by very interesting explanatory notes prepared by Mr. Raaschou. On the same evening Mr. Guiseppe Ros exhibited a rare collection of objects of interest relating to Chinese Mohammedans.

The Journal this year will cost more than usual in production, on account of the abundance of excellent material, as well as in consequence of enhanced prices of paper and labour. It was thought best not to economize in this direction, in view of the large number of members who are unable to attend the Lectures, and therefore depend upon the Journal. The attention of members—especially those recently elected—is called to the very favourable rates now offered to those wishing to purchase back numbers of the Journal.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement shows a good financial condition. In pursuance of the policy adopted two years ago, a further \$500 has been placed to the Life-Membership Reserve Fund, which now stands at \$1,500.

Approval of Reports.

On the motion of Mr. S. Couling, seconded by Mr. J. C. Carter, the reports and accounts were adopted.

Mr. Mencarini proposed a vote of thanks to the Officials for their services during the past year which, being seconded by Mr. H. Phillips, was carried.

Election of Officers.

On the motion of Dr. Bryan, seconded by Dr. Beebe, the following officers were elected *en bloc* for the ensuing year.

President—Sir E. H. Fraser, K.C.M.G.; Vice-Presidents—A. Stanley, M.D., Rev. Timothy Richard, D. Litt.; Curator of Museum—A. Stanley, M.D., Librarian—Mrs. F. Ayscough; Assistant Librarian—Mrs. C. D. McGrath; Honorary Treasurer—Mr. R. B. Hynd; Editor of Journal—Rev. E. Morgan; Councillors—H.E. V. Grosse; J. C. Ferguson, Ph.D., Mr. G. Lanning, Mr. C. B. Maybon, The Rev. F. L. Hawks Pott, D.D.; Secretary—Mr. Isaac Mason.

THE VOWS OF AMIDA.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY.

REV. J. W. INGLIS, M.A.

The most vital elements in Chinese Buddhism are those connected with the worship of Amida 阿彌陀 which in Japan has become almost a distinct religion, so far does it differ from the general Indian tradition. The three Sūtras on which the Amida sects rely are those translated in Vol. 49, part II, of the Sacred Books of the East. Of the three the first is undoubtedly the most important and fundamental, viz., "The Larger Sukhāvātī Vyūha" 大無量壽經 Japanese Muryōjukyō. Here are contained the vows of Amida, by force of which he established a kingdom in the western heaven for all who should call on his name. On this is based the special teaching of the most numerous of the Japanese sects, the Jōdo Shin Shū, one of whose subdivisions takes its name Hon-gwan-ji 本願寺 from the vows of Amida.

But besides the Chinese version in ordinary use, there are other four still extant. Of these the earliest dates back to the first introduction of the Mahayana into China in the second century of our era. My attention was first called to it by the late Prof. Arthur Lloyd of Tokyo, in a letter of March 1911, in which he stated that he was working at a translation into English. Prof. Lloyd died the same autumn, and his work does not appear to have been published. I am indebted to the courtesy of the Christian Literature Society for China, for liberty to use the edition of the Tripitaka in their library. The comparative study of the different versions throws light (1) on the manner of composition of the Buddhist Sūtras; (2) on the manner of their translation into Chinese; (3) on the origin of the doctrines now held by the Amida sects.

The materials for our examination are then as follows:—

(1.) The English version made by Max Müller from five Sanskrit mss. found in Nipāl (S.B.E. vol. 49, ii, pp. 1-75).

(2.) The Chinese version by Lokaraksha 婁迦識 “a scholar of the Yueh Chi” or Getæ 月支國, the date of whose activity is given as 147–178 A.D. The full title is 佛說無量清淨平等覺經, number 25 in Nanjio’s Catalogue.

(3.) Chinese version by Chih Ch’ien 支謙 “a monk of the Yueh Chi” dated in the 3rd century A.D. Catalogue No. 26. The abbreviated title 阿彌陀經 has mislead Max Müller into connecting this with the Lesser Sutra which bears the same name (S.B.E. loc. cit. p. xxiv.)

(4.) Chinese by Sanghavarman 康僧鎰 “a scholar of India” dated 252 A.D. Catalogue No. 27. The version in common use.

(5.) Chinese by Bodhiruchi 菩提流志 “a scholar of the T’ang Dynasty” dated 713 A.D. Catalogue No. 23, part 17.

(6.) Chinese by Fahien 法賢 dated 982–1001 A.D. Catalogue No. 863. Of these versions I have not seen the last, and the fifth I have read only in part. I shall denote the first five by the symbols M, L, C, S, and B.

The result of my examination, stated briefly, is to show that there were two recensions of the original text. Taking M as the standard, B is the nearest to it, and S comes next. L is based on a different original, and C is not an independent version, except in one section, but is a mere revision of L. Further, the special feature which bulks so largely in the later development of the Amida religion, viz., Salvation by faith, is based on S alone, and has no counterpart in L or C.

We may deal briefly with C. A comparison page by page with L shows that the writer was content to transcribe the latter over whole sections, only improving the Chinese style by omission by a few unnecessary characters, or omitting repetitions in cases of extraordinary tautology. There are, however, some qualifications to be made to this statement:—he has omitted all the metrical passages (Gathas)—the section on the Vows is different not only from L, but from all existing versions—and finally the lists of proper names near the beginning and end are transliterated from Sanskrit, instead of being translated as by L and all the other translators. For those who wish to trace the pronunciation of Chinese in the third century, these lists should provide valuable material. We may conclude then that the translator C had a Sanskrit MS before him, that it differed from the original of L in the section on the Vows, but that for the bulk of the book he was satisfied with the work of his predecessor, and simply contented himself with minor corrections.

I now proceed to compare L with the Sanskrit as translated by Max Müller. Such comparison indeed is always qualified by the suspicion that the translator has misunderstood his original. Further it is the custom of Chinese versions to epitomize the too verbose passages of their text, and in many cases this has been

done here. But I suggest that some of the redundant passages were not in the Sanskrit on which L worked, *i.e.*, they were added independently in India, my reason for so thinking is that we have in L some passages of almost incredible redundancy, showing an infinite patience, and a pathetic desire to be faithful to his text, while in such cases the Sanskrit of M is fairly brief.

I propose first to examine the work generally, reserving to the end the section containing the Vows, which gives the key to the whole. The numbering of pages and sections follows S, B, E.

Page 2 where the audience of Buddha is described in M simply as 32,000 Bhikshus, L gives us nine classes, each with their number, including 500 nuns and 500 female converts, of whom 17 are mentioned by name.

Page 7. The origin of Amida is thus given. In the days of Lokeshvara Buddha, there lived a King named Shih Rao 世 饒 who was so captivated by the teaching of that Buddha that he abdicated his throne and became a monk, by name Dharmakara. It was he who afterwards attained to the State of Buddha, and the name Amida. C and S give the same account, but omit the king's name, which is an evident mistake on the part of L, Shih Rao being but the translation of Lokeshvara. This mention of a king who became monk, though not in M, may well be an echo of the conversion of king Asoka in 235 B.C.

Following the section of the Vows, L omits Sec. 9 and Sec. 11, and the three English pages of Sec. 10 are represented by 89 characters. But in Sec. 12 he takes compensation. Page 29 of the English gives 15 measurements of the light of the Buddha. For this L reads "There are Buddhas the light of whose head shines for 7 fathoms," and then he proceeds to repeat this statement for a succession of numbers, totalling 45 terms, until he reaches the measure "200 myriad Buddha Countries." He concludes "But as the light from Amida's head reaches 1,000 myriad Buddha Countries it will be seen how much inferior the other Buddhas are to him." Yet the next passage giving 19 names to Amida is entirely wanting in L.

My reason for calling attention to these apparently trivial matters is to suggest the explanation, *viz.*, that the Sanskrit was in a somewhat fluid state. There was a common basis of material, which the copyist or perhaps an oral reciter felt moved to elaborate by such grotesque embellishments as we have noticed. Hence we have sometimes the bald statement in L, and the elaboration in M, and sometimes it is the other way. The original of L seems to have delighted in geometrical progression, as in the case just quoted he runs up his numbers, multiplying by 2, like a child trying to see how far he can count.

L now adds the curious statement that, when Amida recited his vows, the prince Adjatasatru with 500 elders sat to listen;

he then vowed to become a Buddha like him. Buddha (i.e. Sakya) then promised "After countless *Kalpas* they shall attain their desire—all these were my disciples in a former life, in the time of Kasyapa Buddha."

On this follows the long description of the western Paradise. The subjects in the two recensions are much the same, but the order entirely different. One could suppose that if the MS. was written on palm leaves, these got easily transposed. S again is much nearer to M, but he transposes many sections, and sometimes he seems to give the better order. Thus the end of Sec. 14 is added to Sec. 11, Sec. 32 follows 16 and 17 is joined to 15, all of which seems a better arrangement. See Appendix I.

Only a few points here need be noted. Sec. 18 mentions "rivers for which the Chinese (L C and S) all give 'bathing pools' 浴池; the dimensions are declared to be of equal length and breadth, which gives L another chance to get in his geometrical progression. In another passage it is said "There are no seas, great or small, no rivers, forests, dales, no rains nor four seasons, neither heat nor cold."

In Sec. 17 M raises a difficulty about the absence of the Sumeru mountain, and closes the subject without a solution. L gives the answer, that as the Indian heavens, from the third to the seventh, are self-existent in space, so it is in Amida's land with the first and second heavens, hence they require no mountain to rest on.

On pp. 45—46 we have an important division into three classes of the condition of those who at death are delivered by Amida. The text of M does not distinguish them very clearly; but in L we have a clearer division, with a much greater insistence on good works.

The first class are those who give up home, practise works of merit, and all the cardinal virtues (paramita), and observe the sutras and the ritual. After death they are born in the lotus, and live in bliss near to Amida.

The second class are non-celibates, who yet study the Sutras, and are liberal patrons of Buddhism, building temples, lighting lamps, etc. Here L adds Sec. 43 a warning against doubt after belief, such doubters, if they repent, will enter a city 2,000 li square, where they dwell 500 years, in the enjoyment of many delights but far from Amida, and not seeing Amida himself, but only his light, cf pp. 62—65.

The third class consists of unbelievers who had lost their former faith. They had done none of the good works named, but had led a moral life. Their lot is apparently the same as in class II.

Page 52. M introduces rather abruptly the two great Bodhisattvas. In L we read "Among all the Bodhisattvas (Pusahs) there are two most honourable, seated right and left of

Amida. They wait on him, and fly to execute his commands in the eight directions, or above and beneath." Their names are given as 盧 (C reads 蓋) 樓亘 (Wo Lo Hsüan?) and 摩訶那鉢 Mahanapo. In fear or difficulty or in litigation believers should take refuge in the former. (C gives both names). S gives the names by which they are generally known, viz., Kwan Shih Yin and Shih Chih. B gives Kwan tze tsai for the former.

Page 70. These verses (Sec. 44) are in L and S attached to Sec. 31. B agrees with M.

Verses 4-5 read "as a man born blind desires a guide, so neither the hearers (Sravaka) nor the great Vehicle (Mahayana) nor Pratyeka know the way of Buddha, but only Buddha himself." This must be the first dated occurrence of the name Mahayana.

Towards the end of the book we find inserted a long treatise on Buddhist morals, 7,480 characters or more than one-fourth of the whole Sutra. It follows immediately on the description of the three classes, above mentioned, which in L is placed further on than in the other editions, the point of connection being that those who aspire to be born in Amida's country, but cannot attain to the supreme virtues (i.e. paramita), or observe Sutras and ritual, may yet be content with common morality. This is first summed in ten Commandments, then detailed under the head of five kinds of evil. In the elaboration of this, the language is largely coloured by the familiar Chinese expressions relating to the five relationships.

Now the interesting thing about this section is that the subject matter might almost have been taken from another book. Amida's land gradually fades out of view, and Nirvana takes its place as the object to be aimed at, while the virtues are said to be practised "on the Nirvana road."

Further the whole conception of the way of salvation is not in any way different from that in the main stream of Buddhism. Tao Cho 道綽 (Jap. Dōshaku, died 628 A.D.) divided the Mahayana into two "gates," the gate of the Holy Road 聖道 and the gate of the Pure Land. The former requires training in morality, meditation and wisdom. In these latter days of decadence 減法 that standard cannot be reached. Hence the gate of the Pure Land is opened an easy way of salvation for all.*

Similarly the late Yang-wen-hui of Nanking—"no other sect is to be compared to that of the Pure Land for its bringing out what is essential in small compass. The ideal of other sects is difficult of comprehension and slow of attainment, this is both

* H. Haas, *Amida Bōddha unsere Zuflucht*, pp. 12, 38.

A. Lloyd, *The Creed of Half Japan*, p. 315.

easy and quickly attained” * It is the Indian contrast of Karma Marga and Bhakti Marga, salvation by works or by faith.

But in the whole of the long section before us there is absolutely no hint of anything but works, and the attainment of Nirvana by self-discipline. That is not the Pure-Land doctrine, as developed in China and Japan. We must note that S gives most of this section, and is obviously here a revision of L, improving the Chinese idiom and omitting some paragraphs, but otherwise based on L, whereas in the rest of the book he stands much nearer to M, although influenced sometimes by L in his language.

There are further differences as to Nirvana. In L we are told that when Amida shall attain to Pari Nirvana, Avalokites vara will succeed him as Buddha and Teacher, and after him again will come Mahanaprpta, fulfilling the same functions.

L shows clearly that Amida's Paradise is only a halting place on the way to Nirvana. It is asked if the number of Arhans in that Paradise is diminished by their entering Nirvana. The answer is that the number of those who leave to enter Nirvana is balanced by the additions continually being made from among men, like the sea into which all rivers flow. This passage is combined with Sec. 13, but is wanting in S.

Now in the Sanskrit of M, as in the Chinese of S, it is not at all clear what relation is intended between the Pure Land and Nirvana. In contrast to the frequent occurrence of the word in L, Nirvana is named by M only 8 times—out of these only 4 appear in S, and 2 in L—: three times it is said that the Bodhisattvas work for the attainment of Nirvana by all beings (pp. 16, 52), but S omits all these passages. Twice it is said that the beings born in Amida's land remain until they reach Nirvana (pp. 13, 44); S omits one passage, and in the other he renders “must reach Nirvana.” In Sec. 11 S renders “has he become Buddha, and attained to Nirvana?”, as if the two things were identical. Whatever may be said of the accuracy of the renderings of S, it must be remembered that his version has been the standard, and that all later developments of the doctrine in China and Japan depend on him and not on the Sanskrit. Hence it need not surprise us to find in the seventh century that Nirvana and the Pure Land are identified. Shan Tao 善道 (Jap. Zendo) speaks of “the city of Nirvana, the world that endures eternal life, the voice of sorrow for ever quelled.”

The shining of Amida's light is thus described by L. Ananda is asked “Do you wish to behold the land where Amida dwells with all the Bodhisattvas and Arhans?” Ananda assents; he then dons the kashaya robe, and worships to the west, saying

* From 佛教初學課本

“Namo Amida Buddha.” Whereupon Amida shone in great light, “illuminating all from Sumeru mountain down to hell; all the universe shook, the blind could see, the lame walk, the sick were healed, the foolish became wise, the lustful and passionate were merciful and good, the poisoned were immune, musical instruments sounded of themselves, women’s bracelets tinkled, and all birds and beasts uttered their voice.”

This is parallel to Secs. 39 and 46 of M. We may conclude from a comparison of the two texts that both writers had a common theme, which they took as a basis for free composition, and the elaboration of detail was added as might strike their fancy.

Sec. 43 is thus rendered by L. “After my Parinirvana the Doctrine of the Sutras will gradually be destroyed, men will fall into evil, the five burnings will arise once more.” Adjita is then exhorted to Keep the Law. Here follows the equivalent of Sec. 39 as just given, then Sec. 42, after which the argument is resumed. “After my Parinirvana the canonical doctrine will linger on earth a thousand years, but after the thousand years it will perish. Your Teacher has taught you the Way of Nirvana, honour him as your father and mother, meditate on his mercy. The Buddha is difficult to be met with, so is a true believer, so is a Sramana expounding sutras.”

For this S reads “After my Nirvana do not again harbour doubts. In the coming age the Sutra doctrine will perish. I in mercy and pity leave this Sutra to abide a hundred years.”

Enough has been given in these extracts to show that in L we have a separate source, and that his divergences from our Sanskrit are not due merely to misunderstanding or corruption of the text.

It remains to examine more particularly the section containing the Vows of Amida. Here I find three recensions, viz. L, C, and M with S and B.

L gives 24 vows, of which 20 have their counterpart among the first 23 of the Sanskrit (M) and 4 are independent of the latter. One however is repeated in C, and one in S and B. L is here less verbose than usual.

C also gives 24 vows, but follows a path of his own, and inclines to elaboration. Only 14 have any resemblance to M, and the other ten are quite independent of it; one it borrowed from L. The subject-matter peculiar to C corresponds partly to his description of the Pure Land, but three vows correspond to the moral treatise which we have seen interposed in the latter part of the book. Thus No. 6 reads “Devout men and women shall desire to be born in my country, shall do good works, as giving of alms, circling of pagodas, burning incense, scattering flowers, lighting lamps, hanging banners, feeding monks, building pagodas

and monasteries, destroying desire, and so come to be born in my country as Bodhisattva." No. 11: "In my country the Bodhisattvas and Arhans shall all be without lust, never think of woman, never have rage or folly." No. 12 "—shall have mutual respect and love, never envy and hate."

S and B are independent translations of the same original. They follow M fairly closely, though the order is frequently altered (See Appendix II); one of the vows is omitted, and one added found in L. By subdivision the 46 vows of M become 48. It should be clearly understood that the latter half of the section appears only in S and B, and not in L or C; that is to say, the extra 24 vows represent new matter, and not a mere question of expansion or subdivision.

It is well known that, in the later development of the Pure Land doctrine, it is the Eighteenth Vow as it appears in S that is fundamental. Thus Lloyd * "The believers of the Pure Land Sects never talk of any except the eighteenth vow leaving the other forty-seven strictly on one side." Yet it appears on examining the Sanskrit text that there is no warrant in it for the peculiar emphasis laid on faith, which has given rise to so much religious fervour, especially in the Japanese Shin shu. Writings in S.B.E.† Mr. B. Nanjio noted this lack, and assumed that a paragraph had been lost. But when we consider the general habits of S as a translator, this assumption seems unnecessary, his version is as close to our Sanskrit here, as it is in many of the other paragraphs.

The following is a rendering of vows 18 to 20 according to S and B. 18 (S) If when I obtain Buddhahood, all living beings of the *ten regions* should *from the heart believe and rejoice* 至心信樂, and desire to be borne in my kingdom, up to ten times of meditation, should they not be born, I will not take the perfect enlightenment—only excepting those guilty of the five deadly sins and *reviling* the true Law.

(B) When I attain to the unsurpassed enlightenment, all sentient beings in the other Buddha lands, having heard my name, all the hearts which have a root of goodness, will turn 迴向‡ and vow to be born in my kingdom, up to ten times of meditation. Should they not be born I will not take Bodhi, only excepting those who create *fathomless* evil *karma*, and *revile* the true Law or the Saints.

19 S. If when I obtain Buddhahood, living beings of the *ten regions* should *make an intention* of *Bodhi*, should *work all acts of merit*, and from the heart vow to be born in my kingdom; and if, as their hour approaches, I should not, with a multitude

* The Creed of Half Japan, p. 316.

† Loc. cit. p. 73.

‡ See note.

surrounding, appear before them, then I will not take the perfect enlightenment.

B. When I become Buddha, in other lands all living beings shall make an intention of Bodhi, shall excite pure meditation towards my dwelling-place, further shall with their root of goodness turn and vow to be born in the realm of bliss. For such men as their hour approaches, I with the multitude of Bhikkus shall appear before them, if not so, I will not take the perfect enlightenment. 20 S—all on hearing my name should meditate of my kingdom plant the roots of virtue, turn with all their heart 至心迴向, and desire to be born in my kingdom, if the fruit should not follow, I will not take the perfect enlightenment.

B—All in immeasurable kingdoms on hearing my name with their own root of goodness turn to the realm of bliss, should they not be born. I will not take Bodhi.

On examining the above it will appear that No. 20 almost duplicates No. 18, and that the three together are almost identical with Nos. 18 and 19 of M,* the words marked in italics being those peculiar to the Chinese. Hence it would appear as if the clause in No. 18 (至信心樂), on which so much eloquence and devotion has been built by the Amida worshippers, is due merely to the lax literary methods of S of his original.

But when we turn to L the situation materially alters.

18. "When I am Buddha, among the people in all Buddha Kingdoms there are those who *Keep the way of the Bodhisattva*, and ever meditate on me with pure heart. At the end of their life, I with an *innumerable* assembly of Bhikkus *will fly to welcome them*, will stand before them, so they shall return to be born in my Kingdom, and *be Avaiivartya*—If not so, I will not be Buddha."

This agrees with M, excepting the words marked.

19. In the Buddha Kingdoms of other directions, the people who in a former life were evil, on hearing my name, reform and decide for the Truth; they desire to come and be born in my Kingdom. At the end of life they shall not return to the three evil states, but shall be born in my Kingdom according to their heart's vow.

20 in L is merely the first sentence of 20 in M.

From the above it will appear that L has nothing corresponding to No. 18 of S, and that the stress is laid on good works not on faith.

In C the only things corresponding to these three paragraphs is his No. 7.

* S.B.E. loc. cit. p. 15.

“When I am Buddha may I cause, in the numberless Buddha Kingdoms of the ten regions, devas and men, whether noble men or noble women, to keep the way of the Bodhi sattva, and observe the six Paramitas. If they shall become Sramanas, and not violate the Commandments, if they shall put an end to desire, fast, be pure, and with single heart meditate, and desire without ceasing day or night to be born in my Kingdom—for such men, when life is ending, I with all Bodhisattvas and Arhans will fly to welcome them, so that they shall be born in my Kingdom and be Avaivartya Bodhisattva, valiant in wisdom.”

This is an amplified version of No. 18 of L, corresponding to 18 in M or 19 in S, but we observe the addition of the good works in harmony with the general teaching of L and C. And again there is no mention of faith, or even invocation of Amida.

From the above analysis we see how the whole historical system of the Amida Sects has been built up on a single version. Not to speak of the Sanskrit, which of course was generally inaccessible, had either L or C become the version in general use, the whole development of the sects would have been different. S with his mention of faith, and the ambiguity of the character 念, meaning either meditation or recitation, these have been the apparent sources of that peculiarity which distinguishes the Amida sects from ordinary Buddhism of the Mahayana type.

Note on 迴向.

For this Suzuki finds the Sanskrit equivalent parivartta, explained as turning over of one's own merit to others. Pronounced ekō in Japanese, it has come to mean “masses for the dead.” M. Müller's text has pari nam, translated “bring to maturity.”

APPENDIX I.

Order of paragraphs in three versions.

The numbering of paragraphs follows the English of S.B.E.

LC	S	LC	S	LC	S	LC	S	
1-8	1-11	18 b	13	34 b c	Inserts	42		Omitted by L
10			18	22	here	43		9,19,11a,14a,23-26
12			19 a	17b-end	5060	45	45	32, 33, 35-38, 40
14 b	14b		20	27-29	characters		46	omitted by C
11 b	16		19 b	41	39-41	47	47	as L, also 4,31,44
17 a	32	21	21	Inserts				omitted by S
				here				22, 23, 25
15	15	30	24	7500	42			B omits 25 only
				character				L has 28,660
18 a	17	31 } L	26-31	43 b	43			characters
20	12	44 { only	44	39				C „ 25,150 „
16	14a	13	33-38	46				S „ 17,430 „

The Vows of Amida. Arranged in four Chinese versions, as compared with Sanskrit text in S.B.E. (marked M).

—Signifies matter in Sanskrit omitted in Chinese.

M	L	C	$\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} S \\ B \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$	M	L	C	$\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} S \\ B \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$	M	$\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} S \\ B \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$
1	1	1	1	18	18	(7)	19	$\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 35 \\ 46 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 37 \\ 48 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$
2	2	5+	2+	19			20		
3	3	9+ }	3	20	20—		18		
4	4—	15+ }	4+	21	22	13	22		
5			9	22			(24)		
6	5	(22)	5	23	24	18	23	Peculiar to	M 1 L 2 C 10 SB 0
7	6—		6	24			(24)		
8	9—		7	25			25		
9	7—	(10)	8	26			26	Common to	LC 1 LCSB 1
10	10—		10	27			27		
11	11—		11	28			28		
12	12	20	14	29			29	The vowels are num- bered in L, C and B, not in S.	
13	13+	(24)	12	30			30		
14	15	21	15	31			31		
15	14+	19+	13	32			32		
16	16—		16	33			33		
17	17	(4)	17	34			34		

THE NESTORIAN SHARE IN BUDDHIST TRANSLATION.

REV. J. W. INGLIS, M.A.

It has been known for some years that a Nestorian monk of the 8th century collaborated with an Indian in the translation of a Buddhist *sutra* into Chinese. It may be of interest to examine the contents of this Sutra as we now have it, with a view to ascertain what may have induced the Nestorian to lend his help, and whether any trace still remains of his handiwork.

The fact of Nestorian collaboration was made known in 1896 by Prof. Takakusu (Toung Pao, p. 589 and Translation of I Tsing "Record of the Buddhist Religion," Oxford 1896, p. 224). The story is told in the Cheng Yuan Catalogue (貞元新定釋教目錄) published in the Tokyo reprint of the Buddhist Canon (Vol. 17 結七, page 5—the numbering is given wrongly by Prof. Takakusu). It is there related how a Buddhist monk came from India to China, first landing at Canton in 782 A.D. His name is given as Prajna (般刺若) "which in Chinese signifies wisdom." He was a native of the country of 迦畢試 in North India, "incorrectly named 罽賓." For these names Eitel gives the equivalents Kapis'a and Kubhâna (Kophene or Kabul). Prajna brought Sanskrit books with him from India, which were miraculously preserved when he was shipwrecked on the Chinese coast, and the Sutra now to be mentioned owes its place in China to this fact. His activity as a translator dates from 786, when he associated with "the Persian monk King Tsing 景淨 of the Ta Ts'in monastery, translating the Sutra of the six Paramitas according to the Hu text. At the time Prajna understood neither the Hu speech nor that of Tang (China), while King Tsing was ignorant both of the writing of Brahma (Sanskrit) and of the teachings of Buddhism." This becoming known to the emperor, he issued a reprimand to the translators and ordered a new version to be made.

Apparently then, there was a Sanskrit original, but Prajna wished the help of the Persian in consulting the "Hu text" which may have been Sogdian, or another of the Iranian languages recently brought to light in Central Asia.

As to King Tsing, this is the name given to the author of the inscription on the Nestorian tablet erected at Si-ngan-fu in 781 A.D. The language of that inscription already bore witness to the familiarity of the writer with Buddhist phraseology.

The version now extant is No. 1004 in B. Nanjio's Catalogue. (Shat pâramitâ sûtra 大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經). It is dated the 4th year of Chêng Yüan period or A.D. 788, and is thus inscribed "translated under imperial orders by the Tripitaka scholar Prajna 般若 of Kophene 屬資." Obviously this is the same as the translator previously mentioned, in spite of the slight difference in the Chinese characters used.

On inspection, the whole work proves to be frankly Buddhist, and one can only feel surprise that a Christian monk should have allowed himself to be connected with its transmission. Probably he was attracted by the elevated moral sentiments which characterize the book.

Chapter I gives a brief summary of Buddhist teaching, in accord with the main stream of the Mahayana. In the following verses there is an attempt to reduce all phenomena to one spiritual essence—"The true self is not different from Buddha, birth-and-death (sañsâra) is no other than Nirvana, the foul and the pure are but of one nature, all living have the essence of the incarnate one (Tathâgata garbha). All living things are pure at the root, so say the Tathâgatas of the three ages (past, present, future); all living are not different from Buddha." This is simply the doctrine of the Hwa Yen 華嚴 school, which we may describe as a spiritual monism, in contrast with the materialistic monism of the Taoists. It is to be noted that Prajna appears in 796-798 as a translator of the Hwa Yen King 華嚴經 (B. Nanjio Catalogue 89).

The chapter closes with the injunction to confess the sins of the past "in deed, word and thought, which have arisen from a perverted heart, and thus annul them." This also is the common teaching of the Chinese Mahayana, dating from its first introduction by Anshikao in A.D. 148 (B. Nanjio Catalogue 1106).

Chapter II is devoted to magic spells (dhâranî), a subject which probably was less alien to the habits of thought of a Persian Christian of that age than it is to us moderns.

The remainder of the book describes the vows for attaining Bodhi, *i.e.* the state of a Bodhisattva, who is to save all beings, and then expounds in detail the six cardinal virtues (pâramitâ).

Among other points of interest we may note the following:—The Indian origin of the book is indicated by the reference to the land between Jumna and Ganges. Sacrifice is condemned "slaying oxen and sheep, to offer to Heaven the sacrifice of blood," likewise suicide and ascetic practices—"those who burn the body with fire or drown themselves, or shamelessly go naked and smear the body with ashes."

Nirvana is the "city of peace and joy," but what it is "even the Bodhisattva cannot know, only Buddha understands."

The doctrine of creation is thus combated (chapter 10):—A "heretic" opposes the statement that all things in the beginning were not produced, but had a nature of their own, pure and elemental 自性清淨, saying "the self-existent deity (自在天 Is'vara dêva) is eternal, and the parent of all things, he can give birth to all, can create, make, and establish the world as it is." Others ascribe origins to the soul (神我 âtman), others to a union of elements (和合). To this Buddha replies—"If there be a creator, why is there sorrow and evil? If good comes from Isvara, and evil from Pisatcha, then good and evil are at war, why call himself existent?" Again, "since the doers of evil are many, and the workers of good are few, we should say that the demon Pisâtcha has conquered the god Isvara. Hence the doctrine of creation implies that there should be no evil, but solely good."

This might have warned off the Nestorian collaborator, but it is possible to see his hand in the two following passages.

The Miraculous Life (Chap. I).

"When the Buddhas pass through any city or village, they first emit a subtle golden light, which casts its glow on the region. When the inhabitants see this light, the sick of body or of mind are healed, the fire of the heart is quenched, and the body becomes pure and passionless; the crooked are made straight, the lame walk, the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the distraught are restored to a right mind, those possessed by demons, elves or sprites are healed, the naked are clothed, the proud become humble, the sorrowful are consoled, those who have lost the way find the right path, the hungry and thirsty find food and drink, the prisoners find deliverance, the timid lose their fear, heights and hollows, ravines and mounds are made level, those of low degree are exalted, narrow lanes become broad and market places wide."

The Praise of Wisdom (Chap. IX).

"Wisdom is the root from which the shoots of goodness are put forth. The fool does all manner of evil, like a stone thrown into deep water. The truly wise man is not set on gain or loss, sorrow and joy do not move him from his place, he stands firm like Mount Sumeru. Though revered he feels no delight, though insulted he is not wrathful. The wise man does not speak of his own merits before a multitude; if praise is rendered him he is ashamed and does not claim it; when he attains to every degree of merit he humbles himself and bends low like the boughs of the tree when laden with ripe fruit; although rebuked he is not resentful, but is like the sandalwood tree which diffuses its fragrance when cut down. He does not call to mind the evil of other men, but thinks rather of their good deeds. The wise man abides in empty calm, no evil can harm him, but is like fire lighting on the

sea. At the sight of evil he is ever compassionate, as the sunlight deserts not the thatched hut. The wise man should dwell with men for their good, although they have small faults, as when enter a Champak grove all are alike perfumed. True wisdom avoids distinction (of phenomena) as the sun is impartial in its shining, and as the moon clear and cool makes pure the clouds and vapours. The wise suffering a great wrong will yet not abandon mercy, like the lotus stalk which is broken, but whose root fibres are not severed."

MAGICAL PRACTICE IN CHINA.*

HERBERT CHATLEY, D.Sc. (LOND.)

INTRODUCTION.

It would be interesting to know how many of those people who come year by year to the East are attracted by the glamour of magic with which the "Arabian Nights Entertainments" and similar books have invested all Asia.

Unfortunately a few days' experience with money changers and ricscha coolies rapidly disabuses one of the notion that Ala-eddin's lamp is to be bought in the streets of Shanghai. Not even in Peking do the shops keep such lamps, but a longer acquaintance with the country will show that, whether there be a magic or not there are certainly many who believe in it, and a careful study of psychology, history and religion will also show that we do not know quite so much about the depths of being as we think we do.

Being of a pedantic turn of mind, the writer feels himself compelled to define what it is he is talking about. Magic gets a different definition in every dictionary. It includes things that are probably true and it includes many things that are certainly false. For the writer's purpose he will use the word to mean "the art or science of endeavouring to produce abnormal psychic activity." If any one dislikes the definition, the writer is willing to admit that it is neither accurate nor clear but it will nevertheless serve the object which he has in mind.

He proposes to include many things which most people regard as religious practices rather than magical ones. He confesses himself unable to see exactly where the boundary between magic and religion exactly lies. The real question is as to what are the limits of *normal* psychic activity, and he must plead indulgence if a certain amount of unavoidable obscurity on this point pervades the paper.

"HSTAO"—"FILIAL PIETY."

The most universal form of magical practice in China is the cult of the "*family soul*." Whatever dogmas may have been discovered by Chinese or foreign scholars in the classics or whatever may be dogmatically lacking to support such an idea, it is

* Read before the Society :—December 14, 1916.

perfectly clear that the Chinese behave and have behaved for millenia as if the soul of each clan were a continuous organism having an annual pulse, incarnate in the living descendants, transfusible into the women brought into the clan by marriage and into the children co-opted by adoption, immanent in all that lives associated with the family, and present at the tombs, the ancestral temple and the family altar. Persons of a mystical turn of mind will say that this entity is created by the continuous thought of the successive generations. Until further knowledge as to the actual creative power of thought acting through immaterial means has been obtained, such a method of forming "souls" cannot be pronounced on.

Whether these ancient Mediterranean peoples with whom we believe ourselves to be better acquainted than with the Chinese thought similarly or not we need not pause to enquire. There is much evidence to show that they did. It is scarcely necessary to remind you that some students (e.g., Grant Allen) have thought that Judaism has an ancestral basis. Biblical references to ancestral influence are mostly indirect. The first commandment suggests it, when it states that Yahweh will reward or punish the descendants; the fourth contains a similar notion; the promise to the seed of Abraham is analogous; the rite of circumcision can be brought into the argument; the apostles' enquiry as to whether the sins of the parents could cause a man's afflictions is also pertinent. The Mormons are credited with theories supposedly based on the Old Testament which closely resemble the Chinese notion.

Confucius certainly believed that a worshipper should behave as if the ancestors were present, and in the Book of Rites there is a detailed statement of the procedure adopted to increase the reality of that belief.

Speaking of Confucius, the writer would take this opportunity to mention a colony of the Sage's descendants living not very far from here. In February of this year he had the pleasure (not an unmitigated one!) of living for several days in the ancestral temple of the K'ung family in the town of Ch'i Ch'iao, in the sub-prefecture ("hsien") of Kao Chun, in southern Anhui not far from the Kiangsu border. There are tablets of descendants in the eighty-second generation and the writer was informed that the founder of the branch emigrated to this neighbourhood some fifty generations back. The town is chiefly populated by members of the family who have a close facial resemblance. A neighbouring village on the Nanking-Ningkuofu road is named the village of K'ung and is also favoured by the same illustrious blood.

It is not exactly a suitable occasion to discuss whether such a belief in a family soul has much or any real basis, but the writer would put it to his hearers that the physical side of heredity is but little understood and its psychic aspects are entirely unknown

to Westerners. If orientals claim to have arrived at a deeper knowledge or rather a "subconscious neesis" on this point it ill becomes us, without any certain knowledge at all, to deny any basis whatever for such belief.

Christian dogmas touches very lightly on this matter. Those much neglected peoples, the mediaeval scholars, discussed this as well as many other questions which we think are bran new, and came to the conclusion that there must be a special creation at each birth. Grave difficulties as to retribution, predestination, etc., suggest themselves and the question of backward as well as forward immortality underlies the Hindu and Buddhist theories as to transmigration.

Physically it is clear that much is transmissible. We have no time to consider all the biological controversies as to the inheritance of acquired characters, germ fusion and mutation. Sufficient is it to point out that this kind of magic has physical analogies which partially warrant it.

The rites of ancestral worship are of usual types, and have been frequently described. There are :—

- (1) Preparation of a more or less complete character, including in the more elaborate forms fasting and vestments.
- (2) Orations and genuflections.
- (3) Incense, candles and fire-crackers.
- (4) Sacrifices of food and simulacra of worldly possessions.

In connection with the use of crackers, an occidental should of course try to divest himself of the association of ideas of childish amusements. Such a notion, if existent at all in the Chinese mind, is quite secondary to the symbolic value. Psychologists can, if they please, speculate as to the psychic thrills and vibrations produced by sudden noises, and if this leaves them any leisure perhaps they can explain why any one, occidental or oriental, should be in any way affected by pyrotechnics.

The principal occasions of ancestral worship are, like the Christian cyclic festivals, based on the climatic pulse of the Sun :—

(a.) At the family altar at the New York, the bottom of the life cycle, when Yin the negative repressing influence has its greatest power. There are some analogies with Christmas.

(b.) At the tomb, during Ch'ing Ming (approximately Easter), when the Yang or life principle, having been suppressed, is resurrected and begins again to assert its dominance.

(c.) At the ancestral hall, where the receding life principle is as it were inducted into the phase of hibernation and is supplied with psychic energy by the attentions of the living part of the family which will sustain it, and indirectly the living members also, during the winter.

ERRATUM

Page 18—para. 11, first line, for *New York*
read *New Year*.

Special ceremonies, at funerals, marriages and adoptions also occur, and it is thought that the family soul can be helped or hindered by typographical influence modifying the solar and lunar energies. The investigation of this subject is the well known art of "feng-shui." As with all so-called occult arts, feng-shui lends itself to charlatanry, superstition and abuse, but there are some grains of sense in it, and if, as Chinese certainly seem to believe, the family soul can mystically ally itself with the vital forces which control vegetation, there is considerable logic in the practice of feng-shui.

Infused with life by enthusiasm, this cult of the family soul can be and probably has been a pure and powerful one, but as was the case with late Judaism, it has become largely a matter of form, although there are some exceptions to this. It seems to live much more vigorously in Japan.

CONFUCIANISM.

Much wordy warfare has raged round the work of Confucius. It has been stated both that Confucianism is a religion and that it is not. Obviously the fundamental question of what a religion is underlies the dispute and unless the wiseacres can agree as to this, they cannot agree as to Confucianism.

Confucius certainly did two things :—

(1.) He revived "Hsiao" (Filial Piety), and made it as important as it ever had been, if not more so.

(2.) He introduced or revived the cultivation of the Hsin (Heart or Emotional mind), and stated the method of the "Chung Yung."

The second is the real Confucian magic. By studying and controlling the mind, one can govern oneself; governing oneself, one's personal influence will spread in ever widening circles until one's virtue (*i.e.*, potentiality or, as Parker has it, "Grace") matches Heaven and Earth, forming with them a triune all-compelling energy. In cases of doubt or emotion, the "Chung Yung" or Harmonic Mean must be employed to check the irresponsible surging of the undermind.

All this agrees quite well with the methods of self-culture prescribed by magicians in all ages and practiced consciously or subconsciously by all who wish to gain power over their fellow men. The seeming extravagance of the language may be regarded as oriental metaphor by the sceptical or regarded as a legitimate extrapolation (*i.e.*, extension of a general principle) by the imaginative. The latter are not necessarily wrong.

LAO TZU'S *Tao* AND ITS *Te*.

The author of the *Tao Te Ching* teaches man to absorb and be absorbed by the cosmic energy called "Tao" by the magical

practice of "Wu Wei," *i.e.*, deliberately abstaining from obstructing the Course ("Tao") of nature and mystically uniting with it, so that one acquires the Tao Te, *i.e.*, the potentiality of the Cosmic Tao.

Such a theory, even if it be clearly understood by its discoverer, is hard to learn and much harder to practice, so that the would-be magicians generally called Taoists, like their Hindu brethren, usually became devotees or wizards of the lower types. In the former capacity they aimed at Nei Tai, "Spiritual alchemy," *i.e.*, transformation of the economy into that of a superhuman type. They understood Lao Tzŭ and his disciples to have taught that the cosmic energies would transform anyone who lived in close communion with virgin nature. Drugs not unnaturally came to play a part.

It is the custom to consider these enthusiasts as all impostors or fools. No doubt many were one or the other but the writer sees no reason to doubt that many sincerely believed in the principles they practiced. He will not even be so bold as to say that none ever attained something of the kind spoken of. Those who live in remote wilds do acquire, or, at least, think they acquire, somewhat of nature's power.

The practice of Wai Tan, or material alchemy, is really a matter of physical science which need not be here discussed. Only in so far as such power of transforming external things was believed to spring from psychic power and knowledge can it be regarded as magical in the sense of our definition.

As to the Wu Jen, or sorcerers, there can be no doubt that they are and were little better than the astrologers and wizards of mediæval Europe. Exactly what those were, many writers profess to know from history. The present author only knows what is said about those who were exposed and fails to see that it has been proved that absolutely all were dishonest. It is quite possible to hold very foolish ideas and to practice what those ideas teach in all sincerity and in spite of repeated failure to attain the expected results. At any rate it is fairly clear that many of these people may deceive themselves quite as much as others. Father Doré's recent monumental work on Chinese Superstitions should be consulted on this subject. Certain details of magical practice of the Wu Jen are discussed later.

THE "FA" OF FOU.

Time does not suffice to discuss the whole problem of Buddhistic psychology, theoretical and applied. Two important aspects, however, present themselves. The so-called "primitive," Pali or Hinayana Buddhism insists on regarding the soul and body as a system in a *continual* state of change, which from moment to moment and during those moments is perpetually

carrying on the process of causation. Up to this point, modern objective science is in absolute agreement with it. The Yin-Yang theory of the I-Ching commentaries harmonizes also quite well.

Then follow two ideas which may be true but are difficult to realise :—

(1) The dissolving congeries, which is the being *in articulo mortis*, transfers, as a flame can be transferred from lamp to lamp, that character, karma or impulse which is required to activate a new life. Apparently it may be in suspense for some time pending a suitable new congeries' appearance, like a spark which is held back by insulation.

(2) By a clear mental realization of this fluid character in life, the transformability of the vital flame becomes reduced and eventually in one or more lives ceases. This is the attainment of Nirvana, and is distinctly magical in its rationale. To us it may seem cold and undesirable but that is largely a matter of viewpoint. The ideal has certainly inspired many men to lifelong effort to control that almost irrepressible flame.

The Chinese, Tibetan, Japanese, Sanskrit or Mahayana Buddhism differs considerably, although there is some danger of exaggerating the difference. Nirvana is regarded as a state of indefinitely great but latent potentiality, and many intermediate stages exist which can be attained by self-cultivation.

This soul culture to produce what seems to us an abnormal end the writer calls Buddhist magic although he grants that it approaches nearly to Christian asceticism in principle.

It has a scientific system, *i.e.*, one based on reputed expert knowledge. The layman is only required to abstain from certain indulgences and in practice is expected to vicariously attain merit by supporting the devotees and by as close an adherence to complete devotion as may properly be done without detriment to himself or his connections. The devotee himself is required to take those vows of celibacy, poverty and obedience which are necessary to secure full opportunity for continuously practising this kind of magic. Then by wearying religious exercises and introspection passes through a course of psychic training which first enables him to think clearly, secondly to concentrate on one point at a time to the absolute exclusion of all else and thirdly to withhold thought so as to allow the subconsciousness to well up until it becomes sensible. He must then proceed further until that also is similarly mastered, and so on through many stages which, whether they be real or not, those who have not tried cannot say anything about. Eventually it is claimed a mastery of the direction of the life impulse is gained so that it can be turned into any channel or indefinitely suspended in the Nirvana state, thus indicating the possibility of attaining a superior form in the next life. In China there are probably

few devout Buddhists but there are certainly some. The writer has met some who certainly took the matter seriously even if they were not very well informed as to the history and literature of Buddhism.

It is only fair to point out that great historical knowledge or even mere intellectual ability is by no means a *sine qua non* in Buddhism or Taoism any more than it is in Christianity. Devotion and self-culture according to a prescribed method are the means in all. "The greatest saints are not the wisest men."

SUGGESTIVE PSYCHOLOGY AMONG BUDDHISTS AND TAOISTS.

It is probable that both the sincere Buddhist Ho Shang and the Tao Shih and Wu Jen, have in certain cases considerable so-called hypnotic power arising from their own literary or experiential cognizance of mental and emotional states and from the intensively suggestive character which their lives must bear toward those laymen who are convinced as to the truth of their methods. Herein are certain dangers. The mad Boxer business seems to have received considerable support from imprudent Taoist priests who used their practical knowledge of psychology to excite the people (*Vide* article by the present writer in the "Monist," January, 1912, "The Boxers").

MINOR MAGICAL PRACTICES.

We must now descend from those exalted regions where we have been wandering hand in hand with those aspiring even unto the stars and deal with everyday magic.

Before doing this however the writer wishes to remark on certain peculiarities of the Chinese mind. At first sight the Chinese seem highly superstitious, on second observation they seem horribly irreverent even to their own most sacred things and at a third inspection they appear deeply philosophical and religious within certain very narrow limits. As far as the first point is concerned the writer is convinced that many missionaries have greatly overrated the burden with which they conceive the Chinese mind is laden by its many apparently gloomy beliefs. They are not sad people and the carelessness with which temples, shrines, gods and altars are regarded is sure evidence that in their normal their thoughts are not of bogies and sprites. They are not timid people in the presence of natural dangers, although some do fear the dark. Apparently they fear the living much more than the dead in spite of common statements to the contrary. Most of their beliefs are subconscious or intuitive rather than intelligent. It is only in this way that one can partially explain the extraordinary anxiety shown by villagers that a temple or grave, which they are too inert to repair or even keep as clean as their own

houses, shall not be disturbed by a proposed railway. The writer has had a man come to him weeping because one of his family graves was threatened by a proposed survey line for a railway and yet that same grave was in a most disgraceful state of neglect. Of course here the question of feng-shui again crops up but if the spiritual influence was as dominant in the upper mind, as some would have us believe, it would surely move them to pay more regular attention to what seem to us ordinary decencies.

THE GENERAL PRACTICE OF SUGGESTION.

The writer does not remember having seen any reference to a thing which is a matter of common experience with those who have had much contact with the Chinese, viz.:—the practice of suggestion. Speaking broadly, if a Chinese wishes to obtain a benefit from another person he always approaches the question indirectly and envelopes the subject with an atmosp here of what psychologists call “indirect suggestion” tending towards the desired result. The process may take a considerable time and from an occidental point of view the result is frequently not worth the trouble. In the writers’ opinion this method of proceeding explains many of the strange subtleties of Chinese diplomacy. Most Chinese realise unconsciously that the ideas of their companions are being expressed in this way and develop a sense of receptivity or resistance as the case may be. Occidentals though misunderstanding impatience or subconscious counter suggestion will frequently deal with the matter harshly and it would seem that a good deal of the inter-racial difficulty arises from this cause.

Experimental psychologists are not fully convinced as to the reality of telepathy although many admit that it may occur occasionally in a spontaneous and uncontrollable manner. Whether it plays any real part in Chinese inter-relations it would be dogmatic to say. On the face of it, it would seem that suggestion is usually imparted by expression and by direct suggestions having lateral associations with the principal idea in the operator’s mind. Putnam Weale states that the “reaction-time” (*i.e.*, the interval between the reception of an impression or idea and the delivery of a response) is much longer in the case of Chinese than it is with Europeans. In other words, the European is more “irritable,” using that word in its biological sense. This alone would explain to some extent the preference for what may be termed insidious methods of conveying ideas. There may even be a relation between this question and that of diet. It is quite possible that a meat diet, involving as it does less energy change, leaves a larger margin of free energy for nervous purposes. This is, however, largely speculation.

ASTROLOGY.

In the writer's article on "Chinese Philosophy and Magic," (Journal. Roy. Soc. Arts, April 21st, 1911, p. 563), a sketch is given of the principles of Chinese astrology. This subject has not been much examined, chiefly on account of terminological difficulties, and as far as the writer is aware no investigations have been made by students familiar with the details of European systems. Astrology as occidentals understand it is chiefly based on the writings of late Greek astronomers, particularly Ptolemy. Plato and his exponent Plotinus both relied largely on what they considered to be the facts of astrological theory for their systems of celestial ideals and prototypes. The so-called Chaldean astrologers who frequented Rome during the latter days of the Empire may have brought some ideas from Babylonia but as a matter of fact the cuneiform tablets do not refer to any such complete system as was employed by Ptolemy.

In the first place the seven planets (including the Sun and Moon) were endowed with qualities related to those of the corresponding deities of Greek mythology. The zodiac within which the planets move was divided into twelve signs and decans of a third of a sign, each of which intensified or repressed the influence of the planet which happened to be in it. The preponderating influence was, however, allotted to the planetary "aspects," i.e., the angle between pairs of planets. If an angle was a simple fraction of a circle, it was thought that the planetary influence was potent, such potency varying according to the angle. Oppositions (angles of 180 degree) and conjunctions were especially important. As far as the relation to place and moments of time was concerned the position of the zodiac in the sky as seen at any place and the consequent altitude, culmination, rising or setting of the planets, was the main consideration. These are the main features of Græco-European astronomy.

In China all astrological ideas go back to the I Ching supplements for their theory. The Sun is the Tai Yang or main vehicle of the vitalizing mobile positive breath of the world. The Moon is the antithetical repressing absorbing quiescent negative breath's medium. The planets (five in number) are identified with the five elements. The ruddy Mars is Fire, the brilliant Venus is Metal, the mobile Mercury is water, the sluggish dull Saturn is Earth, and Jupiter is Wood. Each can be positive or negative and their affinities are chiefly determined by the earthly affinities of the corresponding elements. The zodiac is divided into twenty-eight lunar asterisms which are accredited to the seven bodies in the same order as we use for the days of the week. and the fixed circles in the celestial sphere are subdivided by the ten stems, the twelve branches, the eight diagrams, the twenty-four groups or in sixty hexans. Each of these subdivisions is Yin or Yang

and has specific affinities with the elements or planets. Definite rules exist in the books but there is ample scope for variation in judgement. Judicial astrology is based on a study of the internal affinities of the four pairs of cyclic characters referring to the hour, day, month and year of birth which, having themselves a quasi-astronomical origin express to the Chinese astrologer a brief but sufficient record of the condition of the astral influences at that moment. Horary astrology is similar using the time of enquiry or of the crisis. Mundane astrology is expressed by the horoscopes of kings and sages, but in addition it is thought that important planetary conjunctions herald the approach of that all-important event, the birth of a sage. In ancient times the zodiacal constellations were also supposed to have affinity to the same number of Chinese provinces much as in European practice the countries are allocated to the various signs of the zodiac. Comets and eclipses are regarded in much the same way as they were in Europe.

The annual almanac or T'ung Shu shows what may be termed the horoscope of the year, chiefly based on the affinities of the cyclic characters, plotted in one of the standard Pa Kua graticules. It also gives the lucky and unlucky days as determined by the positions of the sun and moon in the zodiac. Since the revolution this has no longer been issued by the Government, but there are various private issues perpetuating the old style. The Peking authorities now produce an astronomical almanac for calendar and agricultural guidance with copious details as to eclipses and a semi-popular description of the solar system.

FENG SHUI.

It is well known to most occidental students that feng-shui concerns itself principally with the determination of house and grave sites. The antithetical principles of the Yin Yang system pervade it as they do all branches of Chinese thought. The surface of the earth consists of Shan and Ch'uan, *i.e.*, hills and valleys. These are formed by Feng and Shui, *i.e.*, wind and rain, which mystically include those more occult principles Yin and Yang. There is of course quite a good deal of truth in this fundamental idea. What geologists call earth sculpture is due to the dynamic action of wind and the penetrating character of rain, which again are produced by the sun's heat modified by the earth's absorption and radiation. The forms arrived at are believed to body forth the quasi-vital character of Feng and Shui, so that by comparison of the form of the land with the orientation (on which the Solar Yang and Lunar Yin depend) the vivifying or enervating character of the local circulation of the world's life breath may be found. There are many resemblances in this theory to Fechner's pantheism, but it is rendered fantastic by

unwarranted wanderings of the Chinese mind due to cross-association of ideas with the various details of the Yin Yang system. It has thus come about that far more importance is attached to slight peculiarities of form in the local topography than to anything else and interpretation of the principles of Feng Shui as applied to any particular case is so arbitrary as to become ridiculous. Orientation and drainage are the things which alone appear to us at all reasonable in the final result.

DIVINATION.

Horary astrology has been referred to above. Other systems are based on the I Ching or on autoscopic methods. These have repeatedly been described. The twin blocks, the forty-nine stalks and divining dominoes can be seen at most divining stalls and in many temples. In the fuller processes, by meditation and fasting a passive and receptive frame of mind is developed so that the subconscious mind can emerge over the threshold and control the diviner so that the sortilege will be significant. A number or hexagram is finally arrived at which is oracularly explained by the I Ching or a numerical collection of spirit messages. This system closely resembles that which is called "geomancy" in Europe, the book of oracles in recent years being known by the high-sounding title of "Napoleon's Book of Fate."

The autoscope (instrument by which automatic or subconscious writing can be done) chiefly exists in the form of the suspended pencil which writes on a sand. Various of the Taoist classics are said to have been composed in this way and it is quite possible that the claim is true, although that would not to a modern mind be a proof of plenary inspiration.

SPIRITISM.

In spite of the careful work of Crookes, Lombroso, Barrett, Lodge and others the evidence in favour of excarnate mentality is by no means complete and it is confessed by even enthusiastic students that subconscious activity is more often responsible for so called psychic phenomena than any other cause. Nevertheless many worthy missionaries in China are convinced of the reality of what they call "diabolic" influence. Persons interested should read Dr. Nevius' book on "Demon Possession."

As far as the writer knows there is but little Chinese literature dealing seriously with the methods of inducing "spirit-revelations" but there can be no doubt that many old women in China still practice it. In a certain limited sense, witches are (and were) not wholly always the victims of ignorant and malicious persecution. In the middle ages there was much lack of discrimination in this as in other judicial subjects and many innocent suffered for a few guilty. A genuine witch was not a

dream, but of course it is probable that in most, if not all, cases her actual power was limited to evil suggestion.

Mayers (C. R. Manual, p. 319) refers to the female "professor of spiritual manifestations" by the name of Shih Ku—"Master-dams." Père Amiot in his "*Mémoires sur les Chinois*" deals elaborately with what he calls "Cong-fu" as a form of spiritistic Taoist exercise, and Giles has described this as associated with our present subject. It would appear to the writer as rather a special form of magical self-culture. The famous Boxer charm is similar with its invocation "Appeal to heaven, appeal to earth, join the society of concordant vigour and be inspired by the Masters."

MAGICAL PRESCRIPTIONS.

These are of two classes which may be crudely described as outward or mental and inward or medical in application.

The Charm or Amulet may be worn on the body as in the case of the Pa Kua Ch'ien or Eight-diagram cash, or may be placed in a house on the wall, door or roof, like the Jewish Mezuzah. It usually refers to the Yin and Yang, the historical beings of Buddhist or Taoist lore, or to more modern spirits devised by the Wu Jen. The magical use of writing is identical with Runic, Egyptian, Chaldean and Jewish practice. In all these cases, the believer's mind and subconsciousness is stimulated to hope (which may occasionally rise to insensibility to pain or even faith-healing) by contemplation of mysterious things which he may or may not think he understands. The recent book of Father Doré on this subject is most interesting.

The Medicaments are of a Macbethian type in most cases although some are probably really therapeutic. The writer would remark, without at all intending to give any kind of testimonial to the Chinese wizard-physician, that organic remedies are gradually displacing inorganic ones in Western medicine. It is now known that in the various bodily fluids and organs very complex substances are formed by bacterial and chemical change some of which will produce remarkable results for good or evil in other living bodies. While the "leg of newt," etc., may not sound at all useful the treatment of exophthalmic goitre by extract from thyroid glands is quite orthodox.

CONCLUSION.

To finish the writer would suggest that the practice of Chinese magic is somewhat more varied than in other countries but is essentially the same as that which is studied throughout Asia. Owing to the peculiar temperament of the Chinese it is neither so obvious nor so universal as it is in India or Arabia, nor does it often rise to such heights of enthusiasm. The Arabian text books, such as the Jawahiru'l Khamsah, are identical in principle with the Taoist magical manuals.

As to the reality of all or any magical theory it might be useful to call attention to the following statements :—

(1.) Democracy and tradition both rely on a certain vague divinatory power arising within the popular mind regarded as one being. "Vox populi vox Dei." "Heaven thinks what my people think," etc. It is conceivable that instinctive superstitions and undying magico-religious practices do body forth certain underlying principles of being which neither have been nor, as far as we may see, can be expressed by words.

(2.) Research in the psycho-physical laboratory and by the methods of psychical research has established the existence of an undermind of extensive and as yet indeterminate qualities, some of which render many magical beliefs and theories partially credible.

(3.) Similar methods show that the ordinary mind, which is usually identified with the "soul," is of a fluid and complex character with several possible states of balance, so that it is not possible to dogmatise as to the exact limits of its powers. So far as such investigation has proceeded it tends to confirm the attitude of Pali Buddhism, but one must be cautious in arriving at a definite conclusion when so little is known.

APPENDIX.

Papers, articles, etc., by the present writer on the subjects referred to in this paper.

1. "Chinese Natural Philosophy and Magic," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 21st, April 1911.

2. "Kabbalism in China," '*National Review*,' (Shanghai), 25th April 1914.

3. "Ancient Chinese Divination," '*National Review*,' 20th June 1914.

4. "Ancient Chinese Astronomy" '*National Review*,' 21st February 1914.

5. "Alchemy in China," '*National Review*,' 25th October 1913.

6. "Possession and the Stability of the Personality," 8th August 1914.

7. "Two Studies in Suggestion," '*Monist*,' January, 1912.

8. "A note on Spiritual Philosophy in Ancient China," '*National Review*,' 2nd August, 1913.

9. "The Magic Circle," '*Monist*,' January, 1911.

10. "Mediaeval Occultism," '*Monist*' XVIII, p. 510 et seq.

11. "Two Notes on Correspondences," '*National Review*,' 10th April 1915.

12. "Some Further Notes on Chinese Philosophy," '*National Review*,' 16th January 1915.

GILES—"Psychic Phenomena in China" in "*Adversaria Sinica*," p.p. 145-162. Kelly & Walsh, 1914, agrees closely in principle with No. 7 in the above list.

The following are also relevant :—

Denny's "Folk Lore of China."

Johnston's "Lion and Dragon in Northern China" [See p. 139 as to "Family Soul."

Lowell's "Occult Japan."

THE DRAGON.

REV. LEWIS HODOUS, D.D.

A writer of the Sung dynasty (960-1278) 易經乾卦程傳 said: "The dragon is the kind of being whose miraculous changes are inscrutable. Therefore, its changes resemble the Tao of heaven (the movement of the heavenly bodies and the resulting seasons), the waning and waxing of the male principle in nature, the coming on the stage and the retiring of the holy men." If we keep this dictum in mind we shall be enabled to find our way through the maze of the following pages without too many surprises.

The dragon is a mythological being. At different times he has been identified with the crocodile, or some one of the saurians which used to inhabit China and whose bones have been discovered in different parts of China. Still, we are not concerned now with the animal which suggested the idea of the dragon, but rather with the idea, its development, and its influence upon the Chinese. After all, the animal which started this idea is of little consequence to us at present. The dragon has intertwined himself so closely with the history of China and the life of its people that its power and influence are no longer dependent upon the knowledge as to what animal really suggested the dragon in the first place.

The dragon emblem is still quite common although the official robes embroidered with his likeness have passed away with the Manchu dynasty. The bridal robe has a dragon on it embroidered in gold and the dragon lanterns, the dragon boats, are still dear to the Chinese. In a recent procession in honor of the president of the Chinese Republic there was a large dragon lantern with a glowing pearl before it. The emperor's throne was called 'the dragon throne,' his countenance was the 'dragon's countenance.' When the emperor died he ascended the dragon throne on high. Williams says in his *Middle Kingdom*: "The old dragon, it might almost be said, has coiled himself around the emperor of China, one of the greatest upholders of his power in the world, and contrived to get himself worshipped through him by one-third of the human race." No doubt Williams is speaking with poetical license in this passage because the Chinese dragon is not the evil being we find in the Book of Revelation, nor is

he like Ahriman of the Persians who opposed Ormuzd. The dragon in China is a beneficent being producing rain and representing the fecundating principle in nature.

A thorough study of the form of the dragon in different ages would no doubt reveal to us a great deal of interesting mythological lore. The Shan Hai King, the Land and Water Classic, dating from the beginning of the Chow dynasty 1122-255 B.C. says: "Outside the four seas there are people who ride upon the dragon. The people draw the body of the dragon with the head of a horse and the tail of a snake." K'ung An Kuo who wrote during the reign of Wu Ti 140-86 B.C. said: "The dragon horse is the essence of heaven taking form. The body is that of a horse, the scales of a dragon. It is eight cubits five inches high. It looks as though it had wings on its sides. When it falls into the water it does not drown. When the holy men were emperors this animal bearing characters on its back came from the midst of Meng Ho 孟河."

Tai Teh 戴德 who wrote about the beginning of the Christian era says in the Ta Tai Li Ki 大戴禮記; "There are three hundred and sixty scaly reptiles and of them the dragon is the chief." Wang Fu 王符, 73-48 B.C. quoted by 爾雅異, says "According to popular custom the dragon's shape was drawn with a horse's head and a snake's tail. Again, there were three parts and nine resemblances to other animals. From the head to the shoulders, from the shoulders to the waist, from the waist to the tail, are the similar parts. The nine resemblances are as follows: the horns resemble those of the deer, the head is like that of a camel, the eyes like those of a devil, the neck like that of a snake, the abdomen like that of a large cockle, the scales resemble those of the carp, the claws are like the eagle's, the soles of the feet are like those of the tiger, the ears are like those of the ox."

As to the size of the dragon we have a passage in Kwan Chung, (d. 645 B.C.): "The small dragon is like the silk caterpillar. The large dragon fills the earth and heaven. When it arises, it gallops over the clouds. When it hibernates, it crouches in the abyss."

Before the dragon, some times suspended from his neck, is the pearl. In the manipulation of the dragon in the first moon a spherical lantern is held before the dragon. This is the pearl. The Land and Water Classic may throw some light upon this. It says: "Outside of the north sea, north of the Red water there is a *Chang Wei* 章尾山, mountain which has a spirit with a human face and the body of a snake, and red staring eyes. When they close then it is dark, when they open, it is light. He does not eat, nor sleep. He does not breathe. Wind and rain obey his command. He lights up the deepest darkness. This

is called the candle dragon." Ch'ü-Yuan, the unfortunate minister of Tsoo who wrote an elegy and then drowned himself, says: "When the sun has set and the traveler has not arrived at home, how can the candle-dragon light his way?" Wang I, 王逸, who lived cir. 126-145 A.D. says: "In the north west there is a very dark country without the sun. A dragon holds a candle in his mouth and lights it." The Tsin Chih 265-419 A.D. says: "The Chung Ho, 種火 near the north pole, mountain is not illuminated by the sun and moon. There is the azure dragon holding a lighted candle in his mouth and lighting up the four directions." (Also said to 天漢, by 東方朔.)

The azure dragon according to the I King belongs to the east. It consists of the constellations of Virgo, the Balances, and the Scorpion. The star Spica of Virgo is the head of the dragon. According to Dr. Schlegel¹, about one hundred and sixty centuries ago because of the procession of the equinoxes the star Spica appeared in the east in the spring in the same place as the sun, and as the season advanced the rest of the dragon gradually appeared above the eastern horizon. It seemed as though the dragon was holding the sun. Whether we throw Chinese civilization back one hundred and sixty centuries according to Dr. Schlegel's suggestion, or not, still there is no doubt that the sun is the origin of the pearl now held before the dragon, and that the suggestion of the candle dragon may have come from this same source.

The quotations above regarding the dragon make it quite clear that the present conception of the dragon is made up of many elements. We have in it fossil remnants of primitive worship of many animals, the horse, the camel, the deer, the snake. There are memories of the darkness about the north pole, astronomical observations dating back to the night of ages. We have hints as to how these elements were brought together. The Land and Water Classic assigns the dragon horse to people outside of the four seas. By the time of K'ung An Kuo the dragon horse becomes the essence of heaven and earth. Somewhat later *Wang Fu*, 王符, tells us that according to popular custom the dragon was drawn with a horse's head and a snake's tail. So the dragon gradually was domiciled in the heart of the Chinese.

There are various kinds of dragons. We have mentioned the azure dragon. It is connected with the east in the I King and with the power of spring and growth. There is the scaly dragon, the winged dragon, the dragon with horns, and the dragon without horns. These dragons are connected one with another by an evolutionary process. The Su I Chi, 述異記, 502-556 A.D. tells

¹ Uranographic Chinoise, p. 55 ff.

us : "The scaly dragon in a thousand years changes to a dragon. A dragon in five hundred years changes to a horned dragon. In a thousand years it changes to a flying dragon." Later on we shall mention the dragons of the five directions.

Probably from very ancient times the dragon was looked upon as controlling the rain of the country. In the interpretation of the diagrams of the I King we have references to the dragon as producing rain. Confucius explaining the passage in the I King says : "Clouds follow the dragon, the wind follows the tiger." The I King further says : "The fifty first diagram (belongs to thunder) is the dragon." Another passage says : "When in divining by the diagrams they obtain the diagram called the upper nine, it is like the hibernating dragon." "The dragon called nine four signifies that the dragon leaps out of the abyss." The dragon called nine five signifies the flying dragon. The diagram called upper six stands for dragons striving in the fields.

Here then we have the phenomena of rain and drought expressed in philosophical language. The hibernating dragon means that the rains have ceased and that the dragon has descended into the abyss in the fall of the year when the dry season begins. The dragons striving in the fields refer to certain phenomena connected with the violent windstorms accompanied by rain. The diagrams are attributed to Fuh-hi and are the basis of a system of philosophy and divination employed by Wen Wang in the twelfth century B.C.

These passages in the I King are elucidated by the popular legends current among the Chinese of ancient times. The I Wei 易緯 says : "At the beginning of summer when the wind comes, the dragon ascends to heaven." At the beginning of the rainy season the dragon ascends to the sky to begin operations. The work called, Fang Yen, 方言, written at the beginning of our era says : "Before the dragon ascends into the sky he is called the coiled up dragon." The Erh Ya, Literary Expositor, says : "The dragon in the second month of the spring ascends to the sky, and in the second month of autumn he hides in the abyss." The Erh Ya I belonging to the twelfth century says : "From the fourth moon on the dragons go into different parts of the country. Each has its delimited locality. Therefore, in two neighboring fields the rain and sunshine are different."

These quotations taken from a large mass of material make clear the significance of the dragon to the Chinese. He controls the rain and so holds in his power prosperity and peace. The times of drought are followed by suffering and rebellion. The dragon is worshipped not only by the people, but also by their official representatives. We can now understand the great popularity of the dragon boat festival, and the lantern festival in the first moon at which the dragon is manipulated.

Before speaking of the sacrifices to the dragon we shall first mention the appearances of the dragon, of which there have been a large number. These appearances are as a rule accompanied or followed by great rains. In Fukien there have been a large number of such appearances and they are carefully recorded under the portents. They are all natural phenomena with some extraordinary features which suggest the dragon to a community brought up on dragon lore. We of the west try to find a scientific explanation for such occurrences. The Chinese go immediately to first causes.

The Tso Chuan being a commentary on the spring and Autumn Annals of Confucius, records such an appearance of the dragons under the nineteenth year of Chao Kung 昭公 523 B.C. "In Cheng 鄭 there was a flood. The dragons were striving in the deep pools of the Wei river outside the Shih gate. The people of the country asked the ruler to make a sacrifice to the dragons. Tzu Ch'an refused, saying, 'When I fight, the dragons do not interview me. Why should I be the one to interview the dragons when they fight. If I sacrifice to them there is their habitation in the deep. If I have nothing to ask of the dragons, they will have nothing to ask of me.'

Before Tzu Ch'an's time and since his days there have been many appearances of the dragon. The earliest recorded appearance of the dragon in the province of Fukien took place in 540 A.D. The History of Fukien, vol. 271, says: "In the sixth year of T'a T'ong at Chang Chow, 漳州, nine dragons gamboled in the morning in the West river." Chang Chow is in the southern part of the province. Here is an appearance which took place in 1528 A.D. "In the fourth moon at Fu Ning 福寧 (north-eastern part of Fukien) there was a great earthquake. The houses and tiles creaked. The water in the ponds bubbled up violently. At Fu An, 福安 there was a great hail storm. At Shou Ning 壽寧 the dragon appeared and then there was a hail storm. Men, beasts, houses, roofs, all suffered injury." In the year 1568 A.D. there was another appearance. "The third month, the seventeenth day, at Hai Têng, 海澄, there were black clouds supporting the dragon. From the east side of Pa Tu, 八都, houses were rolled up, tiles were broken. A brilliant fire suddenly burned to ashes grain and vegetables, coffins in old graves were struck and moved. It stopped at Chiang K'ou, 江口.

Sacrifices have been offered to the dragon from very ancient times. We find the people of Cheng urging their ruler to sacrifice in the year 523 B.C. The Bamboo Books, which were found in a tomb of the Wei princes in 284 A.D. and contain records of various events beginning with Hwangti and ending with the year 299 B.C., contain some interesting legends. These books contain at least two strata. The annals form one stratum. These make matter-of-fact statements. In them the dragon is mentioned but

once and that in a way which does not give us very much information. Under the year 1611 B.C. we find the statement: "Kuang Gak appointed Lew Leuy to feed the dragons." The other stratum consists of explanatory notes regarding the heroes and emperors in the annals. This contains many interesting things about the dragon. These notes were added later to the annals. They are very old, for, as we shall see, they express in the form of legend what the Yih King expresses as a philosophy.

Under the fiftieth year of Hwangti 2647 B.C. there is this statement: "The emperor sacrificed at the river Loh." In the note accompanying this statement we read: "The dragon-writing came forth from the Ho and the tortoise-writing from the Loh." The notes in the Bamboo Books make frequent mention of the worship of the dragon on the part of the emperors. There are several references to the worship in the Shi Ke. Wang Ch'ung, 王充, says that Tung Chung Shu, 董仲舒, who lived cir. 140-87 B.C. made an image of a dragon of clay and sacrificed to it for the purpose of producing rain. Hwae Nan Tsze (d. B.C. 122) says: "The clay dragon regulates rain. The swallows and small birds fly intermittently." The dragon is said to be very fond of swallows. He who has eaten swallows is advised not to cross the river for fear that the dragon may pull him under water so as to get the swallows. This belief probably arose from the observation that swallows fly hither and yon just before a violent thunderstorm. In the time of Hwae Nan Tsze the officials worshipped the dragon. He says: "When the clay dragon is completed the grand-prefect in a long robe and coronet sees him off and receives him." The books of the Later Han 25-220 A.D. contain this statement: "In the time of drought the ministers of the first rank, the ministers of the second rank, the officials according to rank performed the sacrifice for rain. When they prayed for rain they shut up all the *yang* objects, *i.e.*, objects belonging to the male principle. They put on dark colored clothing and made the clay dragon."

This official worship has been continued by the various dynasties. In the Sung dynasty, under the influence of Buddhism, the dragons were given titles by the emperor. In the year 1110 A.D. the dragons of the five directions were given the title of King or Lord. The green dragon was given the title of Dispensing Universal Favor King. The red dragon was given the title of granting Beneficent Favor King. The yellow dragon Sincere Prayer Answering King, the white dragon The Righteous Benevolent King, the black dragon the Powerful Beneficent King. These imperial titles have been changed and added to from time to time.

A little later the dragon mother was recognized and granted titles. According to the History of Soochow in the year 1168

A.D. the prefect of Soochow memorialized the throne and the dragon mother was granted the title Clearly Answering Princess. Dragon temples were erected over the empire permitted by imperial favor.

The Ts'ing dynasty has continued the official worship of the dragon and also the erection of temples. The officials have prohibited the manipulation of the dragon in the first moon and the racing at the dragon-boat festival in the fifth moon, but they have themselves kept up the worship of the dragon. According to the History of Fukien the official worship as conducted by the officials in Foochow was as follows: "Whenever in excessive drought there is prayer for rain, the day before there is abstinence inward and outward performed by the participants. The slaughter of animals is prohibited. On the day appointed all officials in court dress offer a sacrifice at the altar of the mountain streams, and then at the altar of the gods of the ground and the grain. The character of the rites and the order of the ceremony are according to those performed at the spring and autumnal sacrifices. A special prayer is used on this occasion. The sacrificial wine is not drunk and the sacrificial meat is not divided. On the two days of the sacrifice at the two above mentioned altars deputies with caps having rain pendants and white garments proceed to the temple of the City Guardian (God of the walls and moats) and the temple of the Dragon King, read the prayer and offer incense. When the two days' sacrifice at the altar of the mountain streams and the gods of the ground and grain is completed, all the officials go together to the temple of the City Guardian and the temple of the Dragon King to offer incense. They continue this till the seventh day. At the temple of the Dragon King they make two kneelings and six knockings of the head to the ground. At the temple of the City Guardian they perform one kneeling and three kotow.

"If rain is obtained within seven days they allow the slaughter of animals. On a lucky day they perform the thankoffering sacrifice. On the same day they sacrifice at the altar of the mountain streams and then at the altar of the gods of the ground and grain. The character of the sacrifice and the order of the ceremonies is the same as before. They employ a special prayer, and drink the sacrificial wine and divide the sacrificial meat. On the following day they first sacrifice at the temple of the City Guardian and then at the temple of the Dragon King. At both they employ prayer. The character of the sacrifice and its order are the same as at the spring and autumnal sacrifices. If in seven days there is no rain, or the rain is insufficient, the slaughtering of animals is prohibited for one day again, the officials perform abstinence inward and outward as before. First, they sacrifice at the altar of the mountain streams and then at the

altar of the gods of the ground and grain. Deputies go to the temple of the City Guardian and the temple of the Dragon King to offer incense. At all the altars and temples they employ a special prayer. When the sacrifices at the two altars are completed, all the officials go together to the temple of the City Guardian and the temple of the Dragon King to offer incense. When they obtain rain the thanksgiving sacrifice is as before."

In times of ordinary droughts the superintendent of the Taoist priests leads a company of the priests to the temple of the City Guardian and there they recite their incantations. The superintendent of the Buddhist monks likewise leads the monks to the temple of the Dragon King to recite their prayers and incantations. A deputy from the prefect is usually present at these services. Sometimes a deputy is sent to a famous Buddhist monastery called Kushan about nine miles from Foochow to offer incense and invite rain.

At the sacrifice the court dress is worn by the officials. After the sacrifice a cap with rain pendants and white dress is worn. On the occasion of the thanksgiving for rain the embroidered official robe is used. Whenever there is prayer for rain all slaughtering of animals is prohibited except those animals employed in the sacrifice. During the days of the prayer for rain the ordinary affairs of the yamen are carried on, but there is no hearing of cases and no judging. They do not feast, nor let off crackers, do not beat drums, not blow trumpets, do not beat gongs, do not open the official umbrella. The officials wear fringed ceremonials, caps and white dress. All the prefectures and districts follow the customs of the provincial capital.

Here is a form of prayer which was employed in Foochow :
"This year, month, day, N.N. official offers sacrifice to the spirit of the Dragon King having the imperial title of Conferring Blessing on the Ming country (Fukien) Assisting and Prayer Answering. The spirit's power overflows and encircles the ocean. It fertilizes and waters all living beings. It ensures and brings about the tranquility of water and land, causing the streams to follow their courses. It enlarges and helps the water springs to be useful. It sends the fertilizing rain at the proper time. He tranquilizes the billows. He holds in his grasp the benefit of the great water streams. His great merit supports the joy of things. All beings look up to and trust the spirit's protection for increase and plenty. We must thank and offer bountifully, carefully observe the sacrificial regulations. Together on a lucky day respectfully spread the feast, respectfully arrange the sacrificial animals and silk."

These official sacrifices are performed at the present time.

The summer of the year 1913 was very dry. By August 22nd the lack of rain was damaging the crops. On this day the

monks at Kushan Monastery situated near Foochow began to pray for rain in the hall of Kwanyin. On August 23rd the Tutuh of Fukien province sent a deputy to pray for rain.

Outside of the center door of the large hall of Kwanyin a table was placed. On it was the gilded image of the Dragon King about a foot and a half high. Before it was a tablet with the characters 南無五湖四海行雨大龍王菩薩. "The adorable Great Dragon Lord Buddha of the five lakes and the four seas who produces rain." The usual vegetable offering was spread before the idol. Beside him there was a basin of water with branches in it. Occasionally a monk came and sprinkled water over the head of the image to suggest the idea of rain.

After dinner the monks filed into the hall of Kwanyin. A vegetable offering was spread before the goddess. When the monks were all in place facing each other in two groups one on each side of the hall, the deputy of the Tutuh was led in. The abbot gave him a large stick of burning incense. The deputy placed it before his forehead and then gave it to an attendant who placed it before Kwanyin. The deputy then knelt thrice bowing three times at each kneeling to Kwanyin. A stick of burning incense was placed before the Dragon King and the kowtow performed. While this was going on the monks were reciting their incantations. The deputy having performed his bows left the hall.

While the monks were reciting their sutra an attendant brought a small bowl heaped with boiled rice and gave it to the abbot. He lifted it to his forehead toward the goddess of Mercy. Then he took a few grains and gave them to an attendant who put them on a stone railing in the burning sun outside of the hall of Kwanyin before the image of the Dragon Lord. This was an appeal to stir the pity of this god. A similar ceremony was performed to Kwanyin. Toward the end of the service a prayer was read and then consigned to the flames. The monks then marched around the hall as they do at other services. The leader carried a small bowl with water and sprinkled it with a branch in imitation of rain.

The people also pray for rain in times of drought. In Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese* we have a passage which describes quite accurately what takes place in Foochow at the present time. We shall be able to appreciate this from what we know of the dragon. "Sometimes they make an image, which they call the 'Dragon King,' out of bamboo, covered with yellow paper or yellow cloth—or they cover the head of it with blue paper and the body with yellow cloth. The head and face are made to imitate the head and face of the dragon; the body and hands are like the body and hands of a man. No feet are attached to it. Being very light, it is carried in procession by a man or boy, who places the image over him, the dress coming down to his ankles—

in other words, the carrier gets into it. The head of the image is from seven to ten feet from the ground. In its hands, carried in front of its breast, is a kind of wand, in imitation of the utensil which the courtiers in the Ming dynasty were required to hold before them when in the presence of the emperor."

"In the procession also are several men carrying gongs, drums, and four flags of cloth, one of each of the different colors, yellow, green, black, and white. . . . They are about one foot wide and four or five feet long, fastened lengthwise on poles of green bamboo having fresh leaves at the extremity. On each is an inscription of several characters to the import that "prayer in offered for rain," or that it is "for the salvation and relief of the people." . . . The men or boys who carry these flags in the procession wave them from side to side as they walk along crying out 'The rain is coming,' or 'Let it rain,' while those who carry the gongs and drums beat them continuously as they proceed through the streets.

"One man carries a load of water in two buckets suspended from a pole laid across his shoulder. He holds in one hand a green branch of a shrub or bamboo with leaves, which he occasionally dips in the water, and then sprinkles the water dripping from the leaves around on the ground, crying out, as he does so, "The rain comes, the rain comes."

"The people engaged in the procession wear white conical caps without tassels, and are usually dressed in white clothing. Several men carry each a stick of lighted incense reverently before them as they walk along."

This procession goes sometimes to the magistrate's where the image is placed on the table and the magistrate bows and offers incense before it.

In time of severe drought a custom called 投龍 *throwing to the dragon* was practised in the T'ang and Sung dynasties. It consisted of throwing a slab of stone with the invocation engraved upon it into the river, lake, or pool of water.

Another custom practised in seasons of extreme drought during the last dynasty was that of throwing a piece of iron into the pool of the black dragon (黑龍潭). This is connected with the philosophy of the five elements as developed by Tsow Yen, said to have flourished in the fourth century B.C. According to this philosophy the five elements, water, fire, wood, metal, and earth mutually produce each other and repress each other. According to the 白虎通 "wood produces fire, fire produces earth, earth produce metal, metal produces water, water produces wood . . . fire overcomes water." The iron is to serve as a suggestion to the black dragon, who according to the 易林 "belches forth light" to get to work and make rain. The iron gives him something to work on.

The Buddhists of China have taken over the old legends about the dragon current in China and applied them to the *nagas* which inhabit the mountains. These mountain *nagas* or dragons are harmful to mankind, whereas those who inhabit the lakes and rivers are quite friendly and helpful.

The dragon in China has other functions besides producing rain. In the Bamboo Books, the Tso Chuan, Shi Ke, and other ancient works the dragon is made to be the father of the great ancient emperors. Of the emperor Hwangti it is said in the Bamboo Books: "His countenance was dragon-like." The Bamboo Books say of Yao who began his reign in 2145 B.C.: "His mother was called K'ing Too. She was born in the wild of Tou-Wei, and was always overshadowed by a yellow cloud. After she was group up, whenever she looked into any of the three Ho, there was a dragon following her. One morning the dragon came with a picture and writing. The substance of the writing was: 'The red one has received the favour of heaven.' The eyebrows of the figure were like the character for eight, and of variegated colors. The whiskers were more than a cubit long; and the height was seven cubits two inches. The face was sharp above, and broad below. The feet trod on the constellation I. After this came darkness and winds on every side, and the red dragon made K'ing Too pregnant. Her time lasted fourteen months, when she brought forth Yaou in Tan-ling. His appearance was like that of the picture. When he was grown up, his height was ten cubits. He had the virtue of a sage, and was invested with the principality of T'ang. He dreamed that he climbed up to heaven. When Kaou-Shin was decaying the empire turned to him."

In the Yih King we find the same connection between the dragon and the great men, but here these ideas are not expressed in the form of legend and story, but are given as a philosophy. Certain diagrams signify the dragon in certain positions and from this position of the dragon the great man may regulate his action. The great man is compared to the dragon. In the Shi Ke we have an account of the visit of Confucius to Laotze. When he returned to his pupils he told them of his experience as follows: "Birds I know are able to fly, fish I know are able to swim, beasts are able to walk. Those who walk we make traps for, for those who swim we may make nets, for those who fly we may make arrows. But as to the dragon, I do not know how he mounts the wind and clouds and thus ascends to heaven. I have seen Laotze to-day, is he not like the dragon?" The Yih King has the phrase, "To mount the six dragons." This means to be an emperor. Again, the phrase, "The dragon flying in the sky," means the approach of a new sovereign.

The dragon flag is very ancient. The Shoo King contains a passage which speaks of the dragon being used as an emblem and

refers its use to the ancients who may be Hwangti and his immediate ancestors. Legge's Shoo King, Bk. IV. Yih and Tseih, Yü says: "I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients—the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragon and the flowery fowl which are depicted on the upper garment." From early times streamers embroidered with the dragon were employed in the sacrifice to Heaven.

The Chow Li says: "Two dragons joined make a flag." The poet Tu Fu, 杜甫, of the T'ang dynasty says: "The dragon is the essence of the male principle whose form is made visible in the flag." From time immemorial the dragon flag has been employed in worship and war and no doubt it will continue to have its place ever under a republican government.

The dragon is not only a religious and social power, but his bones and teeth and saliva are employed as a medicine. Our authority on these matters is the Pun Ts'au Kang Muh. It was published during the Ming dynasty, but has in it much ancient matter. The authorities differ as to whether the teeth and bones belong to dead dragons or whether they have simply been shed by the living dragons. This academic question has nothing to do with the efficacy of the medicines, however. The Materia Medica quotes The Hung Ching, 陶弘景, who lived in the sixth century A.D. as follows: "They are found in the Chin country, 晉地, (now the southern part of Shansi), in the streams and valleys and precipices of T'a Shan, 泰山, on the banks of streams and in the caves of the ground. There is no fixed time for finding the places of the dead dragons."

The Materia Medica says further: "At present the dragon bones come from Jan 梁, I 益, Pa 巴, (Shensi, Szechuan, Hunan, and Hupeh). As to the bones, the back bone and head are desirable. There is a white base with variegated forms on these bones. If they stick to the tongue when licked they are genuine . . . The teeth are not very strong. The horns are powerful. Of course these have been shed by the dragon and are not from dead dragons."

Here is another item of interest from the same source. "The best are from Yen Chow 剡州 (in Chekiang), Ts'ang Chow 滄州 (Hupeh) and T'ai Yuan 太原 (Shansi). The bones with small marks and wide belong to the female dragon. The narrow bones with coarse striae belong to the male. Those which have the five colors are the best. The white and yellow color are second best. The dark colored ones are the third best. All that have dirty veins and are picked up by women are not to be used."

The dragon bones, teeth, and saliva are on sale in the medicine shops of Foochow. The bones are the fossil remains of animals. One of the teeth purchased by me consisted of a piece of shell encased in a chalk formation. The bones are sold at the

rate of ten candareens for one cash. The teeth cost thirteen cash for ten candareens. The saliva which is sold in a power form costs four hundred cash for one candareen. Mr. Waterhouse of the British Museum examined a large number of teeth from Shensi and Shansi and decided that they belong to the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, *mastodon*, *Elephas*, *Equus* et *Hippotheria* (China Review V, p. 69).

The dragon bones and teeth may be taken as medicine by themselves, or may be mixed with other medicine. They cure a long list of human ills. It sounds like modern patent medicine advertisement. The *Materia Medica* gives a long list: "The heart and stomach troubled by the devils, the malevolent demons who have taken possession of animals and injure men, old mountain demons with man's face and an animal's body, hiccoughs, dysentery, bloody pus, women's diseases, bloody flux, obstruction of bowels with griping pain, children's fever, convulsions." Here is another list: "It cures trouble and fever, a feeling of surfeit of the heart and stomach, hate, anger, when the breath is stopped below the heart and it is impossible to inhale and exhale, ulcers in the bowels, deep seated ulcers, the paralysis of the four limbs, the fear of one's self while sleeping at night and sweating. It stops the sweat. It reduces urine, stops bloody urine. It nourishes the vital powers, establishes the higher soul and the animal soul, quiets the five large viscera. The bone of the white dragon controls the tendency to sleep too much, nocturnal ejection of semen, semen emitted with urine."

There are directions for preparing the medicine. I select one from many; "Every one using dragon bones should first boil them in the water of odorous grass, wash them twice, beat into power, place into a gauze silk bag, place a young swallow into the bag after taking out the bowels, hang above well for one night, take out, roll into power and add medicine for building up the kidneys. Its effect will be like that of a god."

The teeth and bones, are used in much the same way and have similar effect. The saliva is a much more powerful medicine. It will not be necessary to dwell on it because the principles are the same.

After this long and winding journey we come again to the dictum with which we began, namely, that "the dragon is the kind of being whose miraculous changes are inscrutable." After all, however, it is rather the Chinese mind which seems inscrutable. Yes, the mental processes are quite logical once the premises are granted. The Chinese are now questioning the premises. Such questioning of premises will place all this lore into the realm of mythology where it properly belongs.

THE COUNTRY AND SOME CUSTOMS OF THE SZECHWAN MANTZE.

REV. J. H. EDGAR.

INTRODUCTION :—1. Sir John Maundeville's location of Heaven.
Is it Tibet?
2. The writer's object in this article.

I. THE TERM MANTZE.—

1. Sir John Maundeville's and Marco Polo's definition.
2. The present use of the term.

II. THE COUNTRY.—

1. Location.
2. Physiography.
3. Climate.

III. COMMUNICATIONS.—

1. Difficulties of transport.
2. Modes of transport, (*a*) Horses, (*b*) Yak, (*c*) Coolies.
3. The ulag or Government transport.

IV. THE PEOPLE.—

1. Ethnological composition.
2. Religion.
3. Social customs, (*a*) Marriage, (*b*) Dress, (*c*) Diet, and (*d*) Sundries.

V. THE GOVERNMENT.—

1. Past.
2. Present.
3. Future.

CONCLUSION.—1. The Possibilities of Eastern Tibet.
2. Some practical suggestions.

Sir John Maundeville, the mediæval chronicler, after lying prodigiously about many lands, informs us that he could not discourse properly on the "Country of Paradise" because he had never been there! But he adds wise men had told him that "it

*Read before the Society January 13, 1917.

is the highest place of Erthe that is in all the world." Did this mean that Paradise was Tibet? Perhaps not, for in a later chapter we find a good description of the burial services of a priest ridden land where men live in tents. And this region was certainly not Paradise but probably Tibet! About the former we are not concerned just now, but to give some information about the latter is the object of my paper. However, as it is quite impossible to be exhaustive, my discussion will be limited to the Geography and Ethnology of (*a*) the Szech'wan Marches; and (*b*) certain Colonies and Principalities beyond the bounds of China Proper.

I. MANTZE.

The people of these regions are known as "Mantze." Translated literally this word means "barbarian." The term is apparently very ancient and may have been originally associated with the confused chattering of birds. But it is possible that "Mantze" of the present day is a non-Chinese word. Marco Polo seems to apply it to the people living in regions South of the Yangtze. And the unveracious old knight in saying he served some Oriental Emperor "15 monethes azenst the Kyng of Mancy," probably had in mind the same region and people. But unless the term "Min Chia" of Talifu is the "Manzi" of Marco Polo, we conclude that "Mantze and Man Chia" are now exclusively applied to the Tibetans, and in a less degree to non-Chinese peoples in the west of Szech'wan. However, it is interesting to remember that while "Mantze" remains an objectionable term in the Tibetan territory, Män Chia seems to give no offence and is invariably used by the Tibetans and others when speaking of themselves.

II. THE COUNTRY.

If a good map is examined it will be seen that the Brahmaputra sweeps off in a South Westerly direction through India; the Salwin forges south to the Gulf of Martaban, and the Mekong is deflected south-east through Indo-China. Then finally the Yangtze near Likiangfu, commences its lone way through China and enters the Yellow Sea near latitude 32 north. Near its western extremity—between longitude 99 and 103—we have a great elbow in which is an interrupted system of corrosions quite as remarkable as any existing west of the 100th meridian. These rivers commencing in the great mountains which divide the Yellow and Yangtze basins, flow through countless open grass-clad depressions, and converging lower down enter precipitous canons or sun baked ravines conforming more or less closely to the letter V. This latter section, obtaining as a rule in the zones between four and eight thousand feet, is not unlike the stem of a

leaf, while the countless affluents of the higher altitudes may represent the leaf proper with the ribs and veins. As most of the non-Chinese divisions of this region may be divided into deep corrosions and high plateaux the climatic conditions, as may be imagined, vary considerably. But on the whole the climate is very dry and remarkably mild. The former condition may be explained by high mountain ranges—between fifteen and twenty-seven thousand feet—condensing the moisture laden clouds from the fifteen hundred feet plain of Chengtu; and the latter by the deep corrosions admitting the warm breezes from the south to travel far to the north through carefully protected zones. The effects of these peculiarities may be seen in the cereal growing zones by the (*a*) barren hillsides and the necessity of irrigation for agricultural purposes, (*b*) and in the high altitudes by the comparative absence of precipitation between September and April; the burning sunshine at the same period; the impossibility of finding temperatures below zero F. at 14,000 feet; and a snow-line over 18,000 feet above sea level. Wheat and barley may be seen growing at 13,000 feet and more, and the writer has plucked flowers at 17,000. Some animals hibernate it is true, but we prefer to explain this by absence of food rather than intense cold.

III. COMMUNICATIONS.

The communications are always difficult because the mountain ranges run north and south, and the two great highways of Commerce, the northern and southern roads, go east and west. A cross section from the Min to the Kin Sha would resemble a great trapezoid, the eastern side of which is roughened with waterworn corrosions, and the shorter parallel side with serrated ranges, troughs, and glacier-scooped depressions of varying dimensions. A trip over the southern road probably opened by the Border Hero Yoh about the middle of the eighteenth century has been described by the writer as follows:—"This journey to Batang . . . is perhaps the most arduous in the world. The simple fact that twelve passes—the lowest 14,500 and the highest 17,000 feet—must be crossed, may be excelled in some parts of the world, but the claim of unsurpassed difficulty is suggested by the following relatively correct observation. In the nearly 400 miles traversed, the traveller will find 180 miles over 13,000 feet, 120 miles somewhere between 14,000 and 17,000, and of the remaining 80 miles only a paltry 30 miles below 10,000 feet." Still because this far seeing old statesman chose a way where altitudes were highest, it follows that the dips into the valleys are relatively unimportant and the climbs to the highest mountain passes, as a rule, not more than two or three thousand feet. Consequently, men who are normal in high altitudes, enjoy low temperatures, and can ride horses, mules and yaks, the

experiences gained on one or many journeys may be sometimes enjoyable and always interesting. But on the eastern slope referred to above, where the ascent from the valley to the pass may be 14,000 feet the experiences are often quite distressing. The lower valleys are abnormally hot and stifling and the roads boulder strewn and sharply undulating. Take for instance the gorge between Weichow and Lifan. It might well form the subject of an Inferno where fiends riot and revel amongst the rocks of a blasted wilderness, or dye the mountain rills with the blood of murdered millions. If nature has aimed at something unusual we would suggest that in this valley she has succeeded. Man no doubt would leave such a sun-baked wilderness to the owls and the bats if it were not for the fact that delta-shaped flats near the main river can be irrigated by the streams which flow from the high ranges flanking the gorge. But even this mercy is limited. The longitudinal ranges are gashed with deep clefts, while the river side is faced with beetling crags and overhanging masses of crumbling shale and mica-schist, which honey-combed with fantastic caves and grottoes threaten to demolish the unwary traveller or browsing beast. But it rains sometimes, and always in such a way that the most mischief is done in the shortest time. Hence no village is quite sure that the mountain mass will not tumble on the settlement or falling into a lateral ravine bury everything fathoms deep under liquid mud or grinding gravel. But if one is unmercifully scorched to-day with blistering heat there is no climatic reason why he should not be frozen to death to-morrow near the limit of eternal snow. The ascent of the Hung Ch'iao will illustrate my point. After six hard, up hill days from Romidrang (Tanpa Hsien) lat. 30.5 N and long. 102 E.—the traveller will have risen eight thousand feet and must perforce rest his weary bones in fog-soaked clothes under the lee of a natural cave or medicinal root digger's shack perhaps 14,000 feet above the tide. Rheumatism, cold damp air, pungent smoke, a bed on broken stones, and a meal of sodden odds and ends next morning all help towards an early start for the Great Border Pass. At first a torrent rent valley covered with grass and willow scrub is passed where a considerable population living in turf huts, tents, and caves, gaze with irritated wonder on the quaint strangers who have the temerity to face the terrors of this ice bound land. Yaks too, shy and snort as the wayfarers move on, and speculate on the paths which will eventually lead through the glazed peaks flanking them on every side. On and up they go! and finally after weary miles through snow slush and superb savagery the cold summit of one of the world's high passes is reached. But the difficulties of our friends are not yet over. A serpentine descent around, and through, unmelted snow leads finally to a maze of mountain débris envelop-

ed in a soaking valley fog. It is then that they may imagine themselves leading a forlorn hope in the Antarctic, but eventually, if fortunate by following in the tracks of a herd of enterprising Yak they will reach some stunted larch at the lower end of the snowfields, and may begin to prepare themselves for the unconscionable heat of the lower valleys.

The transport in these regions is and always has been, a problem hard to solve. Horses and yaks are the most common beasts of burden although Chinese coolies frequently carry chairs and baggage. The Tibetan horse is in his way without a peer although it has never been claimed that he is in any way related to the famous steeds of antiquity which, like Ch'i Chi¹ and Hua Liu² could amble around at the rate of one thousand li a day. In fact he is a homely creature which time has adapted to rude conditions on the Planet's Roof. Physical beauty and artistic temperament therefore have given way to that efficiency which so often characterises unadorned Strength. Broken in young, he dies young: but between times, if gifted with speech, he could give a harrowing account of poor stabling, insufficient food; indifferent owners; and the brutality of an endless variety of masters. Chao Ki-feng, the famous Warden of the Marches, by an Imperial decree limited his burden to 160 lbs., and his daily stage to about twenty miles; yet he may be driven forty miles with 200 lbs. in spite of legal enactments, unshod over high passes, swaying bridges, or sloping icefields? Altitudes affect most creatures but the Tibetan pony is soundly cursed in sundry tongues and beaten with divers instruments of torture if he shows weakness in heart or lung. The diet of the horse is grass and—oak leaves. Between July and November, if he has time, the grazing is good; but in winter when the marmots hibernate life and misery are then synonymous terms. Then it is he will welcome the leaves of the Holly Oak, and the brittle sweepings of the plain which may be described as "Grass Dust." Indeed; during this period it is difficult to understand how the Tibetan horse exists unless he is like the men on one of Maundeville's Islands who live on "the smelle of wylde apples"—or something else. These creatures are as a rule, full of tricks, and the writer who has been at their mercy more than once imagines that they could give John Gilpin's animal points in entertaining.

The Yak like Prester John and the wandering Jew grows on one. No doubt the Tibetans discovered him, and now could not do without him. This creature furnishes his masters with milk, butter, cheese, and hair for tent-cloth: also an enormous amount of fuel. And besides being the owners' riding and baggage animal his flesh, hide, and tail add considerably to the wealth of

¹ 騏驎

² 騊駼

the nomad clan. He is said to grunt like a pig but his appearance is truly bovine, modified by long flowing hair and a tail which bushes out in a way that makes him the Papuan of his kind. But in other respects there is little difference: we note the same strength, the same patience, the same plodding gait as a rule, the same stupidity and the same capacity for ill treatment seen in the hard worked units of an Australian bullock team. The yak can carry about the same weight as a mountain horse, although he travels more leisurely. He is well-behaved as a rule, but has a habit of diving into thickets, or lumbering against walls, trees, and rocks. Moreover, when he bolts it is with a rollicking abandon, and his bucking is the most agile type observed by travellers. Yaks browse in great herds on the gentle slopes and marshy flats of Tibetan country; and are continually pawing huge holes in the turf which they visit frequently, and apparently with great pleasure and profit. Such then are the animals responsible for transporting men and goods to and from Tibet. But because their Tibetan owners might at any time refuse to hire them to the Chinese, and as the animals of China are quite unfit for Tibet, the Government of the Provinces, in theory and practice, demands the right to control and use numbers sufficient for the requirements of the Interior Administration. The law, however, ordains that a certain sum is paid per animals, and the owners have other privileges besides. The levy of horses, yaks, and men thus claimed by China is known as "ulag"; and without the ulag it would be impossible for the Suzerain power to maintain any authority in Tibet. The recognition of this peculiar demand is the first and, as a rule, the only requirement from a subjugated region, while the refusal is often the first overt act of rebellion.

IV. THE PEOPLE.

If we again examine our map it will be seen how easily wandering tribes could cross the Yang tze-Hwang Ho divide into the upper reaches of the former great river. And it is quite evident that peoples from the south could immigrate up the deep valleys already mentioned. As a matter of fact Chinese Histories vouch for the one, and linguistic peculiarities almost prove the latter. But a power at Lhasa, partly Indian and partly local, gathered up the theological and philosophical ores from diverse ethnological strata, fused them with the fires of enthusiasm, and stamped the amalgam with a mark all its own. Consequently when the term "Tibetan" is used we really have in mind a much mixed race which accepts the religious system known as Lamaism with Lhasa as its capital and the Dalai Lama as its head. Some of the layers in this Ethnological section may prove to be:

a. A prehistoric people whose representatives ground their neoliths or chipped their palaeoliths in the back blocks of Szechwan.

If this element has really influenced the Border Ethnology it may account for the netritoid types seen over wide areas, and may have formed with a very early mongoloid immigration peoples not unlike the Dravidians of India.

b. Many varieties of a Finnish-Ugrian stock are distributed over wide areas and are now known as Hsi-fan, K'iang-Yung and 'Tanguts. These people came to China at a very early date and have always contested the Eastern advance of the Chinese and during the 'T'ang dynasty even occupied the Chinese capital. At present they occupy the 'Takin and many valleys of Min basins and may number close on a million souls. Besides Tibetan they have a language of their own which is unknown in Europe. They use the Tibetan script.

c. But the name "Män Chia" (probably the Min Chia of Talifu) has led the writer to agree with the Chinese that southern migrations have played an important part in Border Ethnology. For more than 500 years Shan rulers reigned in Tali. Eastward their influence extended to, and beyond Kampti Long in Northern Burma and Assam; but just how far north of Tachienlu we may look for their influence is uncertain. Still we are safe in assuming that ethnological islands of Mosus may be found far up the Mekong; on the middle Yalung; the upper Takin or 'T'ung; and on the Min not far from the Kansuh border. Indeed, we believe that some Principalities, such as Bawang, are Mosu colonies among the prevailing K'iang Yung.

d. One Principality, at least, seems to have been founded by Aryans. In 1442 A.D. a Prince from the far west—Wu-sze-tsang¹—who was wandering about on the roof of the world allied himself to China and played havoc with the aspirations of turbulent Tribes in the Min, and as a reward was made a Prince of China's most eastern native territory. This Principality is known to-day as "Washī" which is very like a fifteenth century pronunciation of "Dbus," the Tibetan name for central Tibet. But in the Histories, and on an old Hindoo temple, renovated by the first Prince we find the interesting alien describing himself as the "Chia K'oh" (加曷土司) Prince. Now "Gya-kar" is the Tibetan name for India, and "Ka Ch'e" for Kashmere. Therefore it is probable that either the latter country or some region in north-west India is intended. And as Timur was operating in the Punjab about 1398 A.D. we may suggest that this Scourge of God may have been the cause of our interesting migration.

e. Although slightly out of my province it may be mentioned that in the fork of the Upper Mekong there is an important colony known as "the 39 Bannermen" which seems to contain the

descendants of a remnant of Euleuth Tartars who raided portions of Tibet about 1710 A.D. and were soundly thrashed in due time by the Chinese.

f. The Horpa may be an extension of the "Bannermen," but probably are to be traced to Tartar hordes who at one time followed Genghis K'an. Horpa may easily mean "men from Dzungaria." They are found along the North road between Tachienlu and Dergè.

As the above and many other elements are all Lamaists and acknowledge, or wish to acknowledge, the spiritual and Temporal domination of the Dalai Lama it will be necessary to touch lightly on a weird but fascinating theme:—Tibetan Buddhism or Lamaism. Briefly, this Religion emphasises the Idea of an Incarnate God; a Semi-Divine brotherhood composed of units from every family and specially trained in many arts; and an hierocracy of the same which represents the culture, and controls the wealth and political power of the Tibetan world. Lamaism is a unique system. It has certainly failed to make an independent nation out of this diverse material; and it can never give a worthy and consistent ideal to its followers. Moreover, it has condoned and encouraged many a vicious and immoral custom. Still it has given Tibet a literature which is the marvel of conscientious investigations; and by the power of its wonderful civilization, seen in the Holy City and great Lamaseries—miniature Lhasas—it has centralized the industries and population, expounded an ethical code, educated the laymen, judged the wrong-doers, and carried on an active propaganda in regions beyond the pale of Confucianism. Indeed, it has been a most powerful check against a disruptive social tendency and natural depravity which would have left the Tibetans on a level with South Sea savages.

Lamaism is, as a rule, divided roughly into the "late Reformed" or Yellow Lamaism; the "Early Reformed" or Red Lamaism; and Bônism or Black Lamaism. The first is the orthodox system over which the Dalai rules, and until quite recently was mainly, if not peculiarly, subsidized by China. This important Reformation which took place in the fifteenth century, was guided by one ^BLo-^BZang-grags-pa of Tsong-k'a who might be described (not inaptly) as the Luther of Tibetan Buddhism.

Red Lamaism, which is the result of a Reformation in the twelfth century, might be called the Catholicism of Buddhism. Its claim to a greater antiquity is valid and the ritual is in some respects different, or deficient, but the ultimate authority seems to be in Lhasa, and the famous Sanskrit charm "Om mani pad me hum" is common to both systems. The lamaseries of the Red Cult are not so numerous or populous, nor is the upholstery so elaborate as in the former. But most of these peculiarities can be explained by the fact that Red Lamaism is not the state Church.

Bönism or Black Lamaism is quite different. It seems to be a phase of primitive Shamanism with a Buddhist veneer. The Orthodox Tibetan seems certain that it is the vilest form of Oriental paganism. The European, however, must consider their arguments lamentably weak. The Böns believe in a priestly class ; they have also their temples, idols, cosmologies, shibboleths, ritual, religious paraphernalia, and colleges in Tibet. But they mock at the claims of the Lhasa Pontiff ; they aid and abet the "shame of marriage, and the crime of reproduction." Their praying machinery is turned in a heterodox way, and the same perversity is seen in their circumambulations. But the most damning evidence of their heterodoxy is displayed in their praying formulæ. The Yellow and Red lamas believe that the syllables "Om mani pad me hum" are Divine ; a saving agency of the most definite potency. But not so the Böns. Their great aim in life is to print, flutter or mutter, "Om ma tri um ye sa le du," a phrase which although pathetically stupid to us overwhelms them with indescribable awe. So on grounds such as these the Yellow lamas "cannot away with" the Böns, and not only hurl virulent anathema maranathas at them when on Earth but speculate with keen delight on the fantastic tortures which await them in Hells where the highest and lowest temperatures do their foul work. In some regions the Böns seem to be ashamed of their "faith" for it is not uncommon to find their heretical prayer disguised by the Sanskrit script. But on the other hand, it is said that in Badi a brisk little war was fought in order that they might have the privilege of praying in their own way. Martyrs in this cause are also not unknown.

The idols and mural decorations of all forms of Lamaism are quite contrary to our ideas of decency, and seem to point to a very general worship of the reproductive powers in nature. And they indicate, also, to some of us that the skill of their artists is much in advance of their conception of modesty.

The women of Tibet would require a bulky volume consequently, it is only possible to refer to them briefly. In some races morality is said to begin at marriage, but in Tibet it might be said that it begins when the principle of male ownership is asserted. The fact that here the husband may never take his heritage in women seriously depends in theory on many causes but in reality on two : Endogamous marriages and "mother right." The reason, of course, is apparent at once. For instance ; in China where something like exogamy is the rule, the girl marries a man in some remote district. This means that unchastity before or after marriage leaves her at the mercy of strangers who would have few reasons for dealing with her sympathetically. But in Lamaland, where endogamous preferences obtain, the woman not only marries a man of her own clan, but there is often a tendency for him to remain in her home. And even when she unites temporarily or

permanently with Chinese from abroad, she is still in the town and district of her relatives. All this simply means that in the case of the Chinese woman her subjection is complete; but in the case of our female lamaist this is never the case. It follows then that the former is necessarily moral, while the other may not be so. The recognition of "mother right," too, is important, for it admits the child of the most vagrant union into the clan. This custom assists the professedly celibate lama on a way which should, but does not lead, him to destruction. In the higher regions it is not uncommon to find a family of brothers united to one woman—we have here fraternal polyandry; and as it seems not unrelated to altitude it is probably a way of entailing the family grazing grounds; and with the celibacy of the lamas very effectively limits the population in a land where there is no margin for over-population. But this seems to imply a surplus of women. If so what becomes of them? It is probable that the surplus is just sufficient to supply temporary wives for wandering Tibetans, irregular lamas, and unattached Chinese connected with the Interior Administration. The custom of Temporary Marriages was undoubtedly suggested and enforced by the Tibetans immediately after the Chinese conquest of 150 years ago. The object, too, is quite plain, for the temporary residence of Chinese, prohibition of Chinese women, and the insistence on the mother's right to the child would as a matter of course absorb the Chinese, and incidentally overcome the effects of celibacy and polyandry. It may be, too, that the wily lamas saw that a question of Eugenics was also involved. In some of the Kin valley regions ethnologists may be inclined to see in certain customs an abolescent matriarchy. Others they explain by group marriage, and a few by the *jus primae noctis*. If the latter is a reasonable suspicion it may be explained (a) by the abuse of Princely authority; (b) a taboo on the Virgins which makes them the property of the Gods, and subjects the husband to risks mentioned in the Book of Totut; and (c) a belief in the inherent badness of womankind which would demand some such treatment as that mentioned by Marco Polo when referring to this region; or by Sir John Maundeville in Chapter XXVIII where he deals with "Customs of folk in dyverse Yles that ten abouten in the Lordschipe of Prester John."

In matters of Dress the Tibetans seem to have retained the fashions of the Ming Dynasty. The most important item in their wardrobe is a long single gown, open at the neck like those used by the Japanese, reaching almost to the ground, and tied round the middle by a huge girdle—sex modifies it little if at all. The material may be skin or rough cloth, but if of the former the fur is inside. They have mocassin-like boots, the soles of which are of untanned hide, and the leggings of gaily coloured cloth, fur-

lined. The gowns may last for generations, and as they are never washed, in time smell not unlike smoked hams. This is no doubt mainly responsible for the well known Tibetan odour. But the people, too, are disgustingly filthy and washing is not encouraged on hygienic grounds, although sometimes it is recognised as a detail in religious ceremonies. The diet of the Tibetans is admirably suited for men who lead strenuous lives on high, cold plateaux far above the limit of cereals, trees, and permanent human settlements. It consists of roasted barley or oatmeal, and lumps of more or less rancid butter moistened with tea soup and kneaded with the fingers until a crisp dough is formed. This uninviting mixture is generally washed down with copious draughts of tea in which much butter has been melted and violently churned in long wooden cylinders. Salt and soda are necessary ingredients. The dough is called "toamba" and the liquid "buttered tea." Tea water is usually boiled in copper pans with cow manure or brush wood ; although sometimes the same result is obtained by adding hot stones to water in the cylindrical churns. Meat is sparingly used but curdled milk and cheese are quite common. Vegetables, however, rarely figure on the Tibetan menu. Animals dying from disease are greedily devoured.

V. GOVERNMENT.

A lengthy article would not suffice to tell now of the priestly cities and wonderful temples ; sombre homesteads of solid masonry ; tents of yak hair ; and various handicrafts of the clever people who live in the "Land of the Ocean Lama." But it is impossible to pass over the different forms of Government which they themselves have evolved or had imposed on them by the Suzerain Power in Peking. The first claimants of this land were probably small hordes of savages with manners and social ideals not unlike the wandering tribes of Central Australia. These in time were absorbed by the above mentioned migrations from the north and south, and later adopting Tibetan Buddhism were in a position at times to menace China ; or intermittently ignore her claims and mandates. The story of centuries of Border bickerings is well worth attentions, but in this article it will be possible only to deal with representatives of the native rulers in extra-provincial regions. They fall naturally into Pre-Manchus and Manchus. Some of the former families known as the Inner Hordes trace their titles and patents of investiture to ages before Lamaism was born ; and others to a time before the Reformation of Tsong K'apa. Prince Wen of Mo-to is a type of the former, and So of the Washi may very well represent the latter.

a.—Wen is a member of one of the most ancient ruling families in China. The founder of this line, a native of Shen Hsi, came to the Min valley 1,300 years ago ; and his son owing to

proficiency in Border languages was made one of the hereditary rulers of the Empire. And all down the weary warring ages from 600 A.D. to 1916 this family claims to have been brave and loyal beyond anything in Chinese History. We have no reason to doubt the family recommendation; but the present Prince who is Chinese in speech and religion seems likely in a short time to retain only the ancient titles, for the once powerful kingdom has dwindled to a few hundred acres, and the population to a few families. But we must conclude that such gradual absorption—peaceful penetration is China's ideal form of conquest; although a millenium and a quarter is slow even for the East.

b.—So of the Washi, however, is quite another type of China's Princes. With wide domains and an important population the designation "native King" 蠻王 is something more than a political pleasantry. If what has been said in an earlier section of this article is true, the So-s are of Aryan stock. But although the faces of the Princesses at times show a fine type of Grecian beauty we must assume that the male retainers of the first immigrant married K'iang or Tibetan women and in time the colonists lost their ancestral peculiarities. The state religion, however, Bönism of an old type, shows no indication of having been affected by the Reformation of Tsongkapa, the Tibetan Luther. The So family has always been loyal to China, and being the most Eastern of self-ruling Princes, and guarding the Min and the Kin Ch'uan highways, must have been an invaluable ally in all times of Border stress and storm.

2.—Under the Manchus a complete reorganization of Lama-land took place. In a general way the spiritual and Temporal jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama were recognised; the former over all Lamaists, and the latter over what is known now as Tibet Proper. In this region, at the Capital Lhasa, Manchu officials of high rank, and with military and civil authority were placed. Their object was to rule the country, and they were known as the Resident,¹ Assistant Resident,² and Secretary for Native Affairs,³ These three officials, with their assistants and Staffs, were sent back to China after every sojourn or exile of three years. This system was no doubt China's idea of the thin edge, yet it seems as if the wedge has not entered very far if it has not opened out altogether. But the regions under discussion to-night, after serious wars were conquered and divided into Principalities under loyal Natives and famous Chinese generals. The Dalai Lama was, however, to retain his Spiritual authority. The Principality of Dergé, which some say has had its own Princes from the time when England ceased to be a Roman colony, and always remained in a measure independent of Lhasa and Peking, is a good sample

¹ 駐藏大臣 ² 幫辦大臣 ³ 夷情章京

of the former, and the Muping, Litang, and Batang Principalities of the latter, for their Rulers were in the beginning Chinese who had assisted the Manchu conquerors. The first Prince of Chagla, also, whose court was in Tachienlu, is said to have been the son of a brother of one of the Chinese Emperor's and a Tibetan concubine of entrancing beauty. In all these cases the Princes influenced by the endogamous tendencies of their subjects soon became Tibetan in every thing but name; and they lived and died lamaists to the back bone in spite of Chinese patents of investiture and tribute of a stated quantity sent at fixed times. Although these regions were politically independent of China and Lhasa we must remember that even here until 1911 there was an oblong colony Lhasa-controlled tribesmen running between the north and the south roads from the Kin Sha to the Yalung. The region was completely under the Temporal authority of Lhasa, and the civil ruler, the Byi-Kyab of Nya-rung, was appointed by the Dalai Lama and the Imperial Residents in his capital. Chao Ki-feng invaded the country after 1905, and the Byi-Kyab was seen by missionaries making his way towards India in 1911. This meant that Tibet had lost all Temporal authority in Eastern Tibet, and Chatui had become a Chinese Colony.

In the Takin valleys the Native Principalities admit of a similar explanation; but the system of Government was much more daring and in some cases essentially different. The idea was to plant strong Chinese colonies in the midst of newly surveyed Native States. This would not only hinder the re-formation of powerful Anti-Chinese combines by weakening the native authority and power of action, but also enable the Rulers to deal promptly with the first signs of rebellion. At the same time it was imagined that complete absorption would follow the advent of virile Chinese colonists. Their religion, however, was not interfered with. This now seems midsummer madness, but we must remember that Lamaism was not then what it is now, and the Tartar rulers by making themselves Incarnations of popular deities seem to have had the idea of religious absorption also in view. But whether the Non-Chinese were to become Confucianists or the Chinese Lamaists is difficult to say. Still the fact remains that a fine lamasery was founded in Peking and those in the regions under discussion liberally endowed by the Imperial Patrons. Now this was really a programme of clear brains. But Chinese lamaism was still born nevertheless. The fight against federation by miniature Principalities; alien Rulers; Manchu Incarnations; and ready-made Holy Cities, was all in vain for the Dalai Lama and Lhasa drew all men away from the Manchu Emperor and his Capital Peking. And the Barbarians were not civilized and absorbed because the Chinese left their women in China. On the other hand the Chinese children of every generation grew up speaking their

mother's alien tongue; believing the Lama's religion; and eventually threw in their lot with the Tibetan people. Moreover, the deep-rooted preference for "mother right" swallowed up all the offspring of temporary marriages. If proof of the above-mentioned statements is required the student has only to turn to Chinese Histories and he will find again and again how Princes descended from Chinese families have become Lamaists; and how some have only recently died as friends of the Dalai Lama. He will also learn how towns like Litang and Batang, where the Chinese element is very strong, have been noted for their Anti-Chinese propaganda.

What China will accomplish in the future is difficult to say; but what she intends to do is quite evident. During 1905 the Tartar Amban was murdered at Batang and most of the Lamaists in the Viceroyalty of Szechuan West of the Takin rose in revolt; and many also in the Dalai Lama's region joined in the fracas. Chinese and Europeans suffered cruelly, and it seemed as if the Suzerain's sun had set. Then arose one Chao Rî-feng, a great and gallant man, who after months of hard fighting, punished the rebels, reconquered Eastern Tibet, and annexed many regions under Lhasa and some apparently under no known Ruler. Then it became serious for the Tibetan Princes and Head Lamas. Rulers as far afield as Rima were deposed; the Princes of Batang were executed; and one from Dergè and Litang respectively fled to India. Head Lamas, too, were either degraded, beaten to death, or forced to flee to Central Tibet. But Chao was no destructive tyrant. He had ideas. By annexing unadministered regions in Yün-Nan, and unclaimed ethnological belts in or near Assam in Upper Burma, he suggested a kind of patchwork Province to be known as the Yün-nan and Szechwan Marches.¹ Batang was to be the Capital and Chao was to be the Warden. The Tibetans were only "officially exterminated," but Chinese colonists were to come in and absorb the remnants. No more would Lamaism exert its hypnotic sway; Chinese officials were to rule from all important centres, rice was to grow on the Litang plain 13,500 feet above the tide; and the virtue of the Sages was to transform all things. But it was apparent that colonisation and centralization along the Warden's lines were doomed to early failure. Indeed, it was soon recognised that the old efficient political system had been badly wounded, and the new one was unable to right the disturbed equilibrium. To make matters worse Chao, when he was most needed, died as a rebel in 1911. Consequently, the disturbed equilibrium remains to-day.

The Republic, however, is working at the problem. The Min and the Kin Principalities retain the *status quo*, but in the Marches Proper twenty-nine new Government centres have been

¹ 川滇邊

created where lonely Chinese officials work under a Chinese Warden¹ residing at Tachienlu. But there does not seem to be much hope along present lines. It seems a grave mistake to impose such large numbers of non-producers—officials, their staffs, menials and soldiers on an already over-burdened land. Indeed, we must conclude that China has not yet found a working hypothesis. Her people do marvellous work below the cereal limit but in a large measure fail beyond it. Here the trouble is, that the Son of Han does not readily turn nomad; and if he did he would probably become anti-Chinese. This section of Lamaland is undoubtedly rich in hides, wool, beef, mutton, flour, milk, butter. But the Chinese naturally have little use for such commodities; and the cost of transport even to India would make them luxuries. Must then the most accessible of China's Tibetan regions remain a heavy and expensive burden? Certainly not. If the grasses are improved and their use regulated the stock rearing possibilities of the land will be greatly increased; and if factories are reared in suitable places the varied products may be dealt with in a scientific manner. But the latter innovations must be in the busy Border towns like Kwan-Hsien, Ya-Chow, Chong-Tien, and Likiangfu. In this way the above-mentioned commodities could find a ready market, because the stock being driven slowly from the distant Tibetan Interior without serious loss or depreciation in value would not make fair profits inconsistent with first-class products and reasonable prices.

¹ 川邊鎮守使



THE P'AN SU—T'AI SHAN.

(From photograph kindly lent by the Rev. B. M. McOwan.)



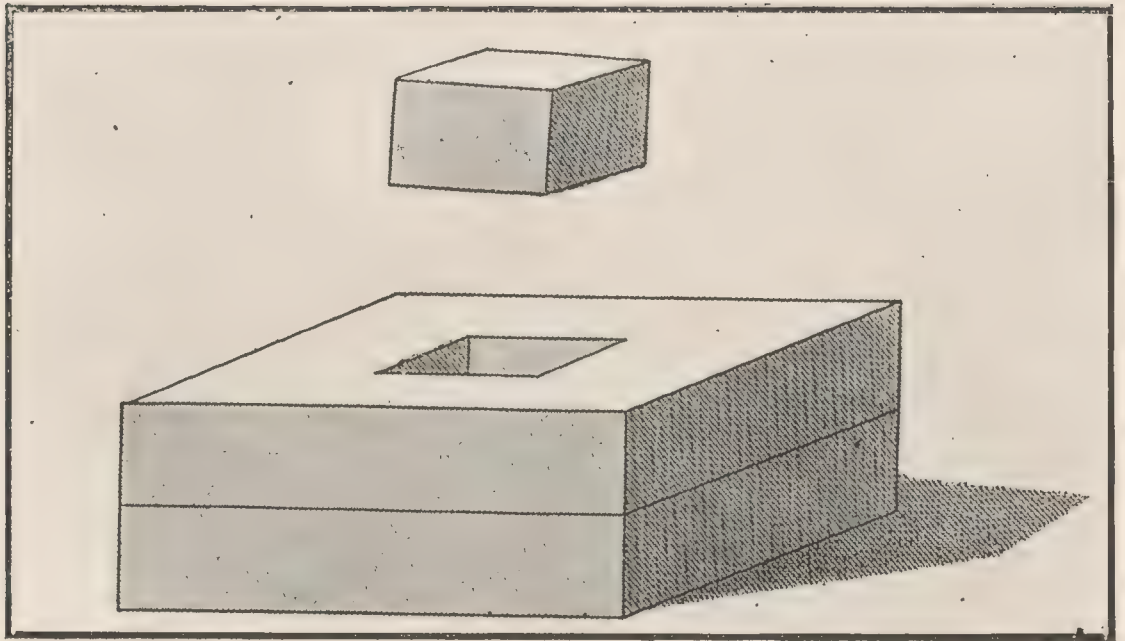
SHIH PA P'AN.

(From "Le T'ai Chan" by Ed. Chavannes.)



TABLETS AT HAO LI SHAN.

(From "Le T'ai Chan" by Ed. Chavannes.)



THE TWO MINOR SLABS OF THE STONE COFFER OF THE JADE BOX.

(From "Le T'ai Chan")



HSIEN JEU CH'IAO.

(From photograph kindly lent by the Rev. B. M. McOwan.)



EARLY SPRING—T'AI SHAN.

(From photograph kindly lent by the Rev. B. M. McOwan.)

SHRINES OF HISTORY.

PEAK OF THE EAST—T'AI SHAN !

F. AYSCOUGH.

I would speak this evening not so much of T'ai Shan the mountain, its temples and its monuments, interesting as these may be, (you will find them fully described by Mr. Moule in the Journal N.C.B.R.A.S. for 1912); rather would I dwell upon T'ai Shan 泰山 the deity, and upon the position which it has occupied in Chinese history and religion; rather would I attempt to evoke a few of those countless "shades" which people its rugged slopes. May we therefore, in order to appreciate this aspect of our subject, consider the question of the Religion of China and the evolution it has undergone? What is the ancient Faith which we find perfected at the very dawn of Chinese history? and what has it become?

According to Dr. Ross, Chinese scholars have divided their ancient times into three separate periods:

First the Primal Ancient, which lasted until the rise of the Chou dynasty; this a monotheism, he thus describes, "we are ushered at one step into the presence of a Religion in which there is one God supreme over all in heaven and on earth, all other spirits being subordinate to Him." Of this Supreme Ruler, Shang Ti, 上帝 there was no image nor is there to-day any idol to represent Him; He has ever been worshipped in the open and under the dome of Heaven, the worship being conducted by the Head of the State *alone* at an altar erected within the precincts of his capital:"

Perchance, because of the very remoteness and austerity of this worship, there grew up around it the worship of ancestors, and also a worship of Inferior Deities; in any case the worship of the period known as the 2nd or Mid-ancient which stretched to the sixth century B.C. is strongly dualistic. Legge thus describes it: "The material heavens and earth are the great works of God. They speak to man with different voices, and utter concordant, yet various, testimony concerning their maker. When we consider the heavens, we are filled with awe; we are moved to honour and reverence Him whose throne they are. When we consider the earth, we are penetrated with a sense of His kindness. Softer

feelings enter the soul, and we are disposed to love Him who crowneth the year with His goodness. The heavens are to us the representatives of Divine majesty; the earth is the representative of the Divine care. The former teaches us God's more than paternal authority, the latter His more than maternal love. By means of the one and the other we rise to Him, as maintaining a sovereign rule and an ever watchful care; as the Being into our service of whom there should enter the elements of fear and love, reverence and gratitude. Such is the ideal of the highest worship rendered through the services at the summer and winter solstices."

The third period known as the "Near Ancient" stretching to some epoch subsequent to our era was materialistic, or more accurately agnostic, with echoes of the old monotheism, its influence extends to our times. The Inferior Deities Dr. Ross considers were regarded as were our saints of mediæval days, as intermediaries between man and his Maker, their functions he thus sets forth: "There is one Supreme Being over all in heaven and on earth the Ruler alike of gods and men. The inferior deities exist, not as rivals of God, but as faithful ministers of His. God has deputed to each of the inferior deities his own particular sphere of influence and of work. In his own sphere this deity exercises supreme jurisdiction over man but under God. The duties of his sphere he discharges, and the honours belonging to it he receives, exactly as does the Chinese official who is appointed by the Sovereign. Each deity stands in a special relationship to God and in a special relationship to man. The duties of his sphere he fulfils in accordance with the will of God, and in the fulfilment of these duties he attends to the best interests of man. Man has therefore not only the right to look to the deity for assistance in all those matters included within the sphere of the deity, but it is his duty to seek that assistance.

"They were located, some in heaven before God, others in the firmament and still others on the earth. The lowest ranks were the gods of the roads, of the streets, of the locality, of the village of the province, of the mountains and the rivers,—these classes rising in importance in the order named. Above these were the deities of the air, of clouds and thunder, of wind and rain. Highest of all to the individual man were the spirits of deceased ancestors, who were represented as living in the immediate presence of God."

Now the T'ai Shan is one of these "Inferior" or rather subordinate deities.

We may read how Shun who ruled about 2500 B.C. journeyed to Shantung and there presented a "ch'ai" 柴 or burnt offering to Heaven and a "Wang" 望 offering to Mount T'ai.

The shade of this great ruler with double pupils to his eyes, is the first of those which rise before us. Co-ruler with Yao 堯

and eventually his successor, Mayers thus describes his early days : " His father on the death of Shun's mother took a second wife, by whom he had a son named Hsing ; and preferring the off-spring of his second union to his eldest son, he repeatedly sought to put the latter to death. Shun, however, while escaping this fate in nowise lessened his dutiful conduct towards his father and step-mother, or his fraternal regard for Hsiang.

He occupied himself by plowing at Li Shan, where his filial piety was rewarded by beasts and birds who came spontaneously to drag his plow and weed his fields. He fished in the Lui lake and made pottery on the banks of the Yellow river. Still his parents and his brother sought to compass his death, but although they endeavoured to make him perish by setting fire to his house and by causing him to descend a deep well, he was always miraculously preserved.

Another personality of whom one is ever reminded when approaching the great mountain which dominates his birth-place, whither, according to tradition he often repaired, is that of the Great Sage and Teacher Kung Tzū, known to us as Confucius ; endless sites upon its slopes are consecrated to his memory, and but sixty miles to the south in the centre of a wide plain lies Chū Fu where he lived and died.

According to Ssū-Ma-Chien the honours paid to the sacred Mountain were originally identical with those paid to the "three Dukes," the highest functionaries of the Court ; in 725 A.D. Hui Tsung of T'ang raised by a degree the rank of the T'ai Shan god conferring the title of " King equal to Heaven " 天齊王 ; in 1008 Chên Tsung of Sung added to this again, raising the title to that of " King, good and sainted, equal to Heaven " 仁聖天齊王 ; a few years later, 1011, the title of Emperor or God 天齊仁聖帝 was substituted for that of King, and under the Mongols it was lengthened by yet another epithet " great protector of life " 天齊大生聖帝. Finally in 1370 the founder of the Ming dynasty, Hung Wu, put an end to this " competition in honours " as it were, declaring that human titles were inadequate to express the greatness of the Infinite, that in the future the mountain should be known as " Peak of the East, T'ai Shan 東嶽泰山." It is under this title that we, to-night, shall study it.

The general attributes of a sacred mountain are of two sorts ; on the one hand by its mass it towers above and controls all the surrounding country, it is the ruler who prevents the soil from becoming agitated, the streams from breaking their banks, it should therefore prevent earthquakes and floods ; on the other hand the clouds, from which are derived the life giving showers which render fruitful the earth, gather around its summit and appear to be of its very manufacture, it therefore bears the honourable title of " He who assembles the clouds 能興雲致雨."

In addition to these attributes which it bears in common with its compeers, the "Five Peaks" famous in Chinese history and literature, T'ai Shan possesses certain of its own, which are to itself peculiar.

Being the "Peak of the East" it presides over the "yang" quarter of the Universe, the quarter whence spring the sun, light, heat, all life giving principles; and as the prayers addressed to a divinity best discover to us his attributes—it being inconceivable that man should supplicate unless he feels that response be *possible*,—we will glance for a moment at those translated by Prof. Chavannes in his wonderful "T'ai Chan, Monographie d'un Culte Chinois." As he says they are of inestimable value, disclosing as they do the religious conception, not of one man but of a people, not of an epoch but of many centuries. The idea thus expressed by Chên Tsung of Sung in the prayer announcing to the divinity his accession to the throne of his line is common to them all: "O god, you bring to birth all things which shall reach maturity, and you keep concentrated within yourself all supernatural energy, you are the perpetual symbol of the eastern territory; you assure to all peoples and things peace and calm; 1,000 generations have verily found in you their support. Now I, by right of heredity, have been invested with the supreme power. With respect I accomplish the sacrifice and recite the prayers, O god, will you enjoy the one and lend ear to the other; aid my dynasty." It is therefore perfectly logical to find in 1532 that the Emperor Chia Ching begs T'ai Shan to grant him an heir, and in 1538 gives thanks that his prayers have been granted.

The great Hung Wu, founder of the Ming Dynasty, held many communications with the T'ai Shan; in the 10th year of his reign he despatched his famous general Li Wen-Chung whose tomb may be seen on the slopes of Purple Mountain, near Nanking, not far from that of the master he served so well, to report to T'ai Shan that the Divine Decree had fallen upon him; that he had become the supreme chief of the "black-haired people in the beautiful country of 'Hia' 夏; and had brought peace and calm to the Middle Kingdom." Chavannes in a footnote explains that the character Hia in its primitive form represented "man" and has been used since the dawn of time to designate the Chinese in contradistinction to the barbarians about them who were not deserving of such an appellation. The next year 1378 he offers thanks for an abundant harvest, and in 1395 and 1397 reports the despatch of military expeditions against the unsubdued barbarians of Kiangsu and the southwest, and begs that "as he dare not address himself to the Emperor on High" T'ai Shan may transmit his prayers for success.

Of all the "Shades" connected with T'ai Shan there is perhaps none more interesting than that of Hung Wu. Details of his early life are well known, a cowherd, so poor was he that

when during a period of famine his father and mother died, the only coffin he could provide was of straw matting. In a vision his parents appeared and advised him to enter the Buddhist priesthood, this he did but before his novitiate was over, disturbances in the country caused his dismissal, and he joined the forces of the Generalissimo Kuo Tzū-hsing, when his military genius had full scope. By 1364 (then aged 36) he proclaimed himself Prince of Wu and four years later mounted the throne at Nanking as first Emperor of the Ta Ming.

The ruins of the great palace he there erected attest to the grandiose and yet simple character of his imagination. In early life he married the "slave girl" of Kuo Tzū-hsing, known as the Empress Ma Hou. To use the words of Giles: "History praises her as tender, wise, fond of reading, and a devoted wife. She would not allow her relatives to receive official honours, contenting herself with the title of "Prince" for her late father. Ruling the Imperial harem justly, she strove to moderate the passionate temper of her husband; and when on her death bed he asked her last wishes she replied: "That your Majesty would make for what is good and accept reproof, and be as careful at the end as at the beginning." Her husband remained devotedly attached to her throughout her life, and listened to her advice on all occasions.

The wonderful monument at Nanking, erected over the remains of Hung Wu, ever strikes one afresh as being peculiarly appropriate a memorial to "the Begger King."

Prayers for rain, for protection against floods, earthquakes and calamities of all sorts we find in plenty, but the most unique is that addressed in 1455 by Ching T'ai of Ming when the Empire was suffering various trials. The following paraphrase is of Chavannes, translation: "with respect I have received the mandate of Heaven, a heavy charge has been laid upon my humble person. *Upon* me depend the people and the divinities of earth; *From* me is prosperity or calamity derived. Although I exercise continual self-examination my Government commits faults many and various. Upon occasion the cold and the heat fail to appear at their fixed season; upon occasion rain and drought overstep their limits; the fields and all cultivation are not profitable; the cereals and wheat do not sprout; this sorely affects the hearts of the people and even causes embarrassment to the finances of the state. If I seek the cause of these calamities it indeed springs from me; therefore if it is by my fault that I have brought down calamities I will assuredly not decline the personal responsibility; *but* that misfortune be transformed to good fortune, it is indeed you, O God, whose duty it is to apply yourself that this may be accomplished. If the fault be committed and you do not achieve this praiseworthy action, you will be even as culpable as am I, if, on the contrary, you do transform misfortune to good fortune who will

equal you in merit? Behold the reason that I address you with these urgent prayers, that you may grant my anxious wishes. Such is the declaration I lay before you with due respect."

And now we must speak of those famous sacrifices performed at the summit and at the foot of T'ai Shan, that of Fêng, 封 to Heaven, of Shan, 禪 to Earth. Tradition relates that the Legendary Emperors themselves performed these rites; the cold light of history, however, reveals that in all probability they were inaugurated B.C. 110 by Wu Ti of Han, under whose reign music and literature made such progress; who instituted the degree of Scholar of the Five Classics, and later that of hsiao lien "precursor of the modern chü jen." A slave to Taoist superstition he, upon the advice of the magician Li Shao Chün who claimed to have discovered the "elixir of immortality," despatched an expedition to search for the Isles of the Blessed. At his marvellous hunting park the Shang Lin Yuan so often depicted by Chinese artists, he assembled a concourse of scholars and poets whose recitations and disquisitions gave him untold pleasure.

Were we to depend for our knowledge of the ritual observed on the first occasion of the performances of the sacrifices Fêng and Shan, upon the accounts published at this time we should be in evil case indeed, the ceremony having taken place in the greatest secrecy, the Emperor being accompanied by but one official who died suddenly a few days later. Eerie must have been the progress of the Great Ruler and his faithful attendant as they climbed the side of the mighty mountain by stealth.

The extraordinary monument which stands at the foot of the short flight of steps leading to the very summit of the Peak, the famous Wu Tzū Pei or "monument with no inscription" is probably a memorial of this visit, though a local tradition firmly established ascribes it to Shih Huang Ti, that intrepid founder of the united Chinese Empire, who burnt all existing books, that history might commence with him; who undertook that most marvellous of the works of man—the Great Wall.

The essential object of these rites was to announce to Heaven the success, the apotheosis of a Dynasty, hence we often find that the Emperor, upon the first request of his ministers that he perform the sacrifices of Fêng and Shan, out of modesty, refuses. For the accomplishment of the worship four altars were required:

Altar of Fêng,—to Heaven, one—four li to the south of the mountain at its foot, dimensions varied. One on the mountain Peak 50 feet in diameter 9 feet in height.

Of these two altars the second was the more important, the sacrifice at the foot probably merely apprised the god of the intention to worship.

Altar of Shan,—to Earth situated at the foot of the mountain, was octagonal in form and was used for worship after descent.

Altar of audience where, at the conclusion of the ceremonies, the Emperor received the congratulations of his officials.

What are these altars? What exactly constitutes the ceremonies? Ordinary sacrifices to Heaven and Earth demand a pyre upon which the offerings to the former are burnt, and a pit in which those to the latter are buried. Though at T'ai Shan pyre and pit exist, they are but secondary in importance. The Emperor recites the merits of his ancestors, thanks Heaven for the support given to his line, and begs continuance of its favours. This announcement at the Fêng altar at the Peak, and the Shan altar at the foot was made by means of an inscription cut on tablets of jade or jadeite, 1 foot 2 inches in length, 5 inches in width and 1 inch in thickness, when the five were placed together they therefore formed a mass as thick as it was wide. These were protected on either side by slabs of jade 2 inches thick, in these slabs a groove was cut that the gold cord which was passed around them 5 times and then sealed should not slip. This collection of slabs was then placed in a jade box which it fitted most precisely, the jade box was placed in one of stone, fashioned of three square slabs 5 feet by 1 foot in size; in the centre stone was cut an aperture in which was placed the precious box of jade containing the Imperial message. Ten further slabs of stone 3 feet high 1 foot broad, and 7 inches thick were then let into grooves cut in the square stones, (three each on the north and south sides, 2 each on the east and west) these were secured by three gold cords each passing five times around the whole. The stone coffer making thus one indissoluble mass was further safeguarded by buttresses placed at the four angles. These were 12 stones 10 feet long, 2 feet wide, 1 foot thick, in their ends were cut wedge-shaped apertures in which were inserted the corners of the box.

Under the Han 18 stones 3 feet in height, placed on stone bases sunk 4 feet in the earth, surrounded this construction. Under the T'ang these were abolished and a tumulus of earth covered the whole.

What was the significance of this ceremony, when, instead of burning or burying the communication to the Supreme Being the son of Heaven contented himself with enveloping the message with infinite care? Chavannes suggests the following hypothesis:

"In the ceremonies of Fêng and Shan the T'ai Shan and the hillock Shê Shou 社首 are not chosen merely because of their physical configuration which approximates them the one to Heaven, the other to Earth; they intervene as divinities; they play the part of intermediaries between the sovereign of men and Heaven or Earth as the case may be; the prayer addressed to Heaven is confided to the care of the god of T'ai Shan, that to Earth to the god of Shê Shou in order that these deities may

deliver them at their respective destinations. Thus the ceremony becomes intelligible, the imperial tablets are neither burnt nor buried because they are not sent directly to either Heaven or Earth but are placed in charge of the divinities of the two sites to whom is delegated the duty of transmitting them.

Upon the rare occasions (only four times in the course of history at T'ai Shan, and once at Sung Kao have these taken place) of the ceremony it was, from all accounts, performed with singular pomp.

This worship which, according to some authors, took place at the very summit of the mountain where stands now the temple of the "Jade Emperor" is so intimately bound up with the memory of that mild, affectionate, but capable ruler of the Sung, Chên Tsung, who was withal a slave to the magicians about him, that one cannot consider it apart from him; not one of the "shades" which haunt T'ai Shan seem more to be a very part of the mountain itself, than does he. Several times, during his reign, the famous "Letters from Heaven" were found, supposed to be direct communications from the Supreme Being; various sites on the sacred mountain are pointed out as being the identical spot where such revelations were made. Chên Tsung ordained that these "letters," inscribed on jade tablets, be reverently buried upon the mountain side and that a temple be erected in memory of the great event. The fact of these communications had doubtless an immense effect on his imagination; thus it came about that, when in 1008, 12,087 old men from the province of Shantung repaired to the Imperial palace at Pien Yang to present a petition that the Emperor should perform the sacrifice of Fêng and Shan, and a similar petition was received from various fonctionnaires of the Empire, he consented to comply, and issued an Edict decreeing that in the 10th month of the year such sacrifice should be performed at T'ai Shan, and despatched officials of varying ranks to announce the fact to Heaven, to Earth, to the gods of the soil and harvests, to the mountains and rivers, at the temple of the ancestors and also at the temple of T'ai-yu and at the memorial temples at the capital.

The preparations were made with infinite care and attention to detail, choirs of singers, bands of dancers were appointed; sets of bells and of sonorous stones were prepared; the characters on the jade tablets which bore the Imperial message were filled with gold; indeed so fabulous was the expenditure that any repetition of the worship has been prohibited.

It was decided that besides the overseers of the sacrifice, to the number of ninety-three, and the Imperial body-guard, but twenty-four chosen officials should ascend the mountain with their Master. The point as to whether the burnt sacrifices should take place before or after the sealing of the jade box caused much

discussion ; it was eventually decided that after the last offering of jade, silk, etc., had been made the Emperor, clad in the robe known as "yuan" and wearing the cap called "mien" from which dangled twelve strings of pearls, should ascend the Altar, seal the box of jade, place it within the stone coffer ; that he then drink the sacrificial wine and attend the gods upon their departure ; that all music should cease and that the pyre be set alight. It was moreover decided that at the moment when the Emperor had accomplished the sacrifice of Fêng, torches placed at intervals from the altar at the summit to that at the base, should be set alight, thus making a continuous line of flame from top to bottom of the mountain ; furthermore that a tablet inscribed with red should be passed from one to other of the guards who lined the great "P'an Lu" or Pilgrim's Road, and that upon its arrival at the mountain foot all Dukes of the Palace and high dignitaries there waiting, should assemble at the places allotted to them, whence from afar they could see the blazing sacrifice. From the mountain top cheers should arise which also should be passed from one to other down the mountain side, when at once the pyre below should be set alight. Thus the rites should terminate.

It is impossible to describe in detail all the picturesque ceremonies which took place. From the time the Son of Heaven left his palace at Pien Yang until he was safely there re-instated forty-seven days passed, during this time, although it was in the depth of winter, neither rain nor snow fell and the temperature was mild and agreeable. Many signs of good augury were manifested, the evening before the sacrifice a strong wind blew hither and thither heavy sombre mists, torches could not be kept alight ; during the ceremonies, however, the wind ceased, the firmament became limpid, the flame from the myriads of torches rose straight to heaven ; when the sealing of the stone box had been accomplished a violet cloud hovered about the altar, while an unearthly yellow light enveloped the stone coffer where the Imperial message destined for heaven, reposed ; rare birds, and strange beasts sent as offerings from the four quarters of the Empire were set at liberty. When day dawned the disc of the sun appeared doubled, and a cloud of five colours floated above.¹ Tambours and wind instruments were sounded, spectators in thousands lined the road and cries of joy rose from earth to heaven.

Though since then 900 years and more have elapsed, though the ceremonies of Fêng and Chan have been abolished, the memory of the magnificence with which they were conducted

¹ In this connection it is interesting to note that on the morning of February 19th, 1917, a similar phenomena to that described was observed in Mukden, when, after a long period of fine dry weather, the sun appeared with a *triple disc*, while clouds in rainbow colourings surrounded it. See North China Daily News, March 1st, 1917.

remains vividly in the minds of men ; more than one monument erected as a memorial upon the slopes of T'ai Shan, evoke before the eye of the traveller the ghostly apparition of fairy-like processions trooping up and down the precipitous mountain slopes, recalling the moment when the Son of Heaven desired to transmit a communication to the Being by whose Decree he ruled.

PART II.

We have now studied at some length the cult of T'ai Shan as it concerns the world of Rank and Power ; what the while of the patient, Stupid People, of China's Millions ? Wherefore do countless pilgrims toil wearily up the endless steps which lead to the Southern Gate of Heaven ? What is it that makes the worship of T'ai Shan one of the most universal in China ? To them the deity cannot appear in the light of a "messenger." Nor for them is communication with the Supreme Being possible. In this fact indeed lies revealed the weakness of the ancient Chinese monotheism. In his wonderful address spoken when taking his chair in 1882, at the Académie Française, Pasteur used these words ; "I see everywhere the inevitable expression of the Infinite in the world, through it the supernatural is at the bottom of every heart. The idea of God is a form of the idea of the Infinite. As long as the mystery of the Infinite weighs on human thought, temples will be erected for the worship of the Infinite, whether God is called Brahma, Allah, Jehovah, or Jesus ; and on the pavement of those temples, men will be seen kneeling, annihilated in the thought of the Infinite."

And because it was not permitted that they do this, the people of ancient China built up a system by which they might attempt communication with that Beyond through spirits many and various.

T'ai Shan, as we have seen, is the font of life ; as a logical sequence therefore, one of or "hun," or Souls being destined for rebirth, it also controls death. "My days are on the wane, the Peak of the East has given me rendez-vous," such are the words in which a poet who died A.D. 252 announced his approaching death. As T'ai Shan thus gives life and demands it again, one may conclude that it presides over the greater part of human existence and those who desire length of days repair thither in supplication.

Tradition localizes very definitely the exact spot where the spirits of the dead re-enter the slopes of the sacred mountain on their journey to the World of Shades, which lies below. This is at a hillock to the south of the main mass, called Hao Li Shan, here one may see countless tablets erected by families, or village communities, to mark the spot where the spirits of their dead ancestors assemble.

T'ai Shan possesses also judicial attributes, in fact in popular imagination the rule of Judge of the Lower World is that which pertains essentially to the mountain spirit. Many tablets found in the temples "to the Eastern Peak," which are established in all cities of importance, attest to this fact. "He judges without partiality" "Here it is difficult to deceive;" thus they run in endless variety.

In these temples there are, however, courts not devoted to the god of T'ai Shan himself and he does not receive all the homage paid. Chavannes describes how he saw women in Peking approaching the temple of the Eastern Peak, after each three paces they prostrated themselves in the dust and filth and, arrived at the temple, they repaired not to the court of the god but to those occupied by various feminine divinities, the chief of which is the Pi Hia Yün Chün, or the "goddess of the coloured clouds." Her worship is not old, when Chên Tsung performed the sacrifices of Fêng and Shan described above, he found upon the summit of T'ai Shan, in a pool a rough statue of stone, of this he caused a jade replica to be made, which was placed in the adjacency of the said pool. The statue soon attracted crowds of worshippers and her temple is now the most magnificent on the mountain. The goddess, who is reputed the daughter of the mountain spirit, is generally attended by acolytes, those we see in the picture (which is taken from a Taoist sutra in praise of the Pi Hia Yun) are the goddess who grants children and the goddess who guards eye sight, these being two of the most popular, the worship of these divinities to-day is the central and most important part of the cult localized on T'ai Shan.

Although hosts of pilgrims throng to the great mountain during the first four months of the year, it is not *necessary* to worship there or in any of the temples to obtain the benefits which the god dispenses, amulets of many sorts being impregnated with its vital energy. These are of many sorts. Curious, conventualized maps of the five peaks," reproductions of the T'ai Shan seal, rubbings from the many pious inscriptions which abound, all these are most efficacious. Moreover, those who desire protection for their houses have but to place in one of their outer walls a stone upon which are cut the characters T'ai Shan shih kan tang.

These are found all over the country, that you see depicted on the screen stands on the Sinza Road, while I believe that they are common in slightly different forms in far off Ssü Ch'üan.

The local worship on the mountain has been so well described by Moule, Bergen and others that I will not detain you with details, but will close with a few words on the physical aspect of this ancient shrine, which my husband and I, in company with Sir Frederick Bourne and Mr. E. C. Pearce visited in 1914.

It is at first sight perhaps a trifle disappointing, this rather heavy mass. It is not distinguished as is the wonderful purple mountain near Nanking, with a glorious upward sweep, its shape in fact minimizes its height. From where the mountain folds to earth, the path rises straight, one may say without deviation to the summit; no ameliorating curves mitigate the gradient, evidently the first pilgrim who sought to approach the spirit of T'ai Shan, looking neither to the right nor to the left, chose this route, and in his footsteps for countless centuries have trodden myriads of his brethren. This path has now grown into the great stone paved "Pilgrim's Road" one of the most remarkable sights of the mountain, lined on either hand with scores of temples and planted thick with cypress. "He who climbs must pass from low to high, but to see the sights he should descend from high to low," so runs a proverb quoted by Moule. Shall we follow this advice? Hiring the strange T'ai Shan chair, borne by Mohammedan coolies who have the monopoly of the trade, in which one proceeds like a crab side-ways between two coolies abreast, shall we set our eyes upon the summit?

Humanity as one may study it upon the mountain side is absorbing, hordes of beggars, (such well fed healthy beggars) have divided the mountain into "spheres of influence" and never interfere with one another, they pursue one with their irritating wail only so far as their border line, when a confrère takes up the chant. Rich pilgrims scattering cash to right and left are carried down the steep steps at a terrifying pace, poor pilgrims toil painfully up or down, it is not easy to decide which journey is the more difficult to accomplish; presently the road gives way to broad steps, the broad to narrow, one cannot bear that men shall carry one, finally one reaches the foot of the gorge which terminates at the "Southern Gate of Heaven" reached by the famous flight of steps the Shih Pa P'an or eighteen flights; exceeding steep are they and one is often glad to avail oneself of the assistance rendered by the iron chains stretched at the side.

The day of which I speak was grey and still, the tones of the landscape were greys and browns relieved by the sombre green of cypress and pine; choughs wheeled above uttering strange cries; from a cave high in the cliff came the sound of a woman's voice crying "O-MI-TO-FO" "O-MI-TO-FO" accompanied by the tapping sound of wood meeting wood as she beat her Mo Yü. Finally the Nan Tien Men was reached, even on this still day a cutting wind drew through, piercing to the very marrow of one's bones, from here the ascent is easy—one reaches shortly the temple of the Pi Hia Yün; the main court and those of the acolytes were thronged with women wearing gay head dresses and bright pilgrim shoes. Beyond is the classic site upon the summit where stands the iron tiled temple of the Jade Emperor. Every inch

seems hallowed ground—the shades of the past throng about one. Gazing hence Confucius “found the world small” thither he was able to see the white horse at the gate of Soochou then capital of Wu; here the great Shih Huang Ti took refuge from a storm and in gratitude ennobled the pine which sheltered him: here the white mule which carried the Emperor Huan Tsung of Han up and down the mountain with no trace of fatigue, lay down and died; apparently in thus safely bearing the Son of Heaven he had attained the greatest height within the scope of mules. The grateful monarch decreed that a tomb should be prepared, and bestowed upon him the posthumous title of “general”; here is the temple of the “three officials” the trinity composed of the divinities of heaven, earth, and water”; here is the rock whence one tries to see the sea; there the tower of 10,000 immortals, built in 1620; here the arch which marks the spot whence one rises to immortality; there again the bridge of the “hsien jen,” those mortals who by long communion with Nature have become possessed of supernatural powers; here is the mount of the “returning wild geese”; and there the rock which flew to its present position; so on and so on, *ad infinitum*. Chavannes mentions over 200 noted sites and relates fascinating legends concerning them, while doubtless the Chinese mark many more. Time fails we may not linger.

Having thus considered the Sacred Mountain in its various aspects what conclusions may we draw? what light does our study throw on the psychology of the Chinese mind? Again we cannot do better than turn to the great French authority who has so far been our guide; he thus closes his wonderful Monograph.

“If it be true that man has fashioned his gods in his own image, we must add that the feat has not been accomplished in a moment of time, this is especially noticable in China where new ideas are simply super-imposed on the old, forming a new strata, leaving these latter untouched.

Thus T'ai Shan was at first a sacred mountain with an extremely vague personality differing not greatly from its compeers, towards the dawn of the Christian era it received as we have seen attributes; because it presided over the East, therefore it came to be regarded as “the Ruler of Life.” In order to execute its functions it was obliged to keep, in the great book of Existence, a minute account of births and deaths, of exits from and entries to the World of Shades, it appears therefore as the head of a complicated organization, as a high official. Later under Buddhist influence, besides keeping an account of births and deaths, it must mete out rewards and punishments,—it becomes the great Judge of Purgatory. Later still the participation of women in the Cult developed, besides the god of T'ai Shan, the personality of this pretended daughter, the “Princess of the Coloured Clouds” to

whom all mothers and would-be mothers address their prayers ; it would seem therefore that in the Cult we have epitomized the intellectual development of humanity, which by slow elaboration, incessantly modifies its gods to make them more and more to resemble themselves."

* * *

In early April when the decorative garment of snow has been cast off, the impression borne in upon the traveller is one of age great, gray, limitless, infinite age ; colossal boulders have surely been there since the Creation, as surely must they remain, to the End of Time.

How beautiful must the mountain be when, over this foundation, spring casts her mantle of tender green, when flowers, emblems of resurrection spring from every crevice ; can one find, indeed, than this great mountain, a more fitting symbol of Eternity itself ?

LAND BIRDS AND OTHERS MET WITH AT SEA OFF THE COAST OF CHINA IN 1915.

H. E. LAVER.

The following notes relate principally to the birds met with at sea off the Coast of China, and include one trip to Bangkok during 1915. They are not so complete as I should have liked to make them; but it is extremely difficult to identify the species of birds—many of which are seen for the first time, over such a wide range—and as these will include both male and female, birds in breeding, plumage, and immature specimens, books are not of much use. The only way is to compare with dried skins, and this is not possible at sea. However, sometimes an opportunity offers to verify the species correctly, and those birds named in these notes are the result of such advantages.

Otherwise I have been obliged to generalise the species as ducks or finches, etc.

Neither have I attempted to determine the various species of insects seen on board.

These notes refer only to what has been seen at sea, and do not include any observations whilst in harbour.

Generally the position given is for noon on that day; unless more exactly stated. And as the weather, undoubtedly, has some bearing on the subject, in so far as land birds and insects may be blown to sea by a strong off-shore wind, I have generally included a few remarks on the weather conditions which prevailed at the time.

* * *

From the 27th of January to the 2nd of February, on a voyage from Hongkong to Bangkok, a moderate N. E. monsoon prevailed to Pulo Obi, thence to Bangkok light easterly airs and calms.

From the 28th to the 29th of January the ship was passing the Gulf of Tongking, being some 40 miles to the West of the Paracels. Several dragon flies and some moths flew on board, but no birds were seen. On the 30th of January, nearing Cape Padaran, a few cormorants were seen a long distance out to sea, and on the 31st of January when off Pulo Condore, I saw several small flocks of Terns following shoals of fish.

1st of February. In the Gulf of Siam, passed many large shoals of fish, a few Noddy Terns (*A. Stolidus*) were seen hard at work amongst the shoals. Quite a number of small moths flew on board during the day.

2nd of February off Koh-si-chang, several shoals of dolphin—back and sides of a coal black colour, a lighter grey under the throat; with prominent long snouts, dorsal fin short and blunt; Medusae and Plankton in long streaky bands stretching from east to west. We passed through much of this last night, but it was not phosphorescent as is so frequently the case; much of that passed to-day was like a fine yellow straw coloured sawdust.

Off Bangkok Bar, a few Terns (*S. fluviatilis*) and some water-snakes, generally not over three feet in length, tail flat; the back banded with black blotches on a greenish ground; belly and under-parts white. These were lying in the surface in a very flaccid manner, as, when rolled over by the vessel's bow wave, they appeared to be able to turn the right way up, only after apparent effort. A few shoals of fish seen, and some insects came on board as we passed through the Islands.

16th to 18th of February.—Bangkok to Hongkong. Being 60 miles north of Pulo Kambir and ten miles distant from the Coast; a few small flying fish occasionally seen; it is rather remarkable, but these are the first flying fish I have seen since leaving Hongkong on the 27th ultimo. No birds to-day.

17th of February. Lat. $16^{\circ} 50'$ N. Long. $110^{\circ} 10'$ E. Many flying fish since daylight, both large and small. Also I saw an occasional large fish—possibly bonito—chasing them. I note also a total absence of any bird life—due, I imagine, to its being the breeding season for most of the sea birds. Late in the afternoon I saw three large birds which looked like Booby (one bird was white all over, the other two had white head and neck and under-parts of body and wings, the rest of the upper-parts and back speckled brown); towards night no more flying fish seen.

27th of February.—Hongkong to Shanghai. A N.E. gale with thick rain. Off Tung Yung Island, saw an Albatross, possibly (*D. albatrus*) and one gull (*L. canus*); the first seen this year; passed a school of dolphin.

14th of March.—Tientsin to Shanghai. With N.N.W. (force 5); Lat. $36-15'$ N.; Long. $122-45'$ E. One land bird, a linnet, but it did not remain very long and I was unable to identify it.

23rd of March.—Chefoo to Tientsin. Westerly wind and fine, but the air is full of dust. At daylight, being forty miles West of Howki Island, several larks were seen. At sunset, off Sha-lui-tien, great numbers of ducks and some geese all flying to the North; here also, I saw a few more larks.

30th of March.—Chefoo to Shanghai. W.S.W. wind (5) fine and clear. Being 60 miles South of S.E. Promontory; one land bird seen, black and white speckles; the colour and manner of flight suggested it to be a wood-pecker. If correct, it is an unusual circumstance to see this bird so far from land, but the wind is off-shore and may have been stronger yesterday; if so this may account for its presence out here.

31st of March.—70 miles north of Shaweishan Island; wind E.S.E. (4); overcast and rain. A thrush and several land birds seen; gulls (*L canus*) more numerous the last two days. Further south, when 15 miles north of Shaweishan, a moth flew on board, also an owl, which, however, did not remain long enough for me to identify.

1st of April.—Going up the Whangpoo River, many mallard to be seen, mostly above Gough Island.

4th of April.—Shanghai to Chefoo.—Calm. Lat. 34-00' N. Long. 122-40' E. One Swallow seen.

5th of April.—Lat. 36-00' N.; Long. 122-40' E. A pigeon on board; some ducks seen flying North. Two gulls (*L canus*). Land birds were frequently seen to fly past, but seldom rested on the ship. I caught a plover—plumage generally of a buff brown, lighter under throat and belly, bill $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long light yellow, long yellowish green legs, no hind toe. I released it later on; it had a plover's flight, but it was, I fear, too exhausted to reach land. A large flock of small birds, finches of some kind, passed over, flying North at a great height. After passing the N.E. Promontory, gulls (*L canus*) were more numerous.

8th of April.—Going up the Liau River, a few geese seen on the bank by Nodding Tommy Beacon.

12th of April.—When leaving Newchwang for Chefoo, a few geese seen flying south at a great altitude. Whilst still in the Liau two Black Redstarts flew on board and remained until the ship arrived at Chefoo next day. In the afternoon one moth was seen.

15th of April.—Chefoo to Swatow. When a hundred miles South of the N.E. Promontory; the weather calm; at daylight one land bird, a finch on deck. A few gulls (*L canus*) too lazy to fly in the calm were fast asleep on the water. Before sunset, a lark on board, and one goose was seen, high up, flying N.E.

16th April.—Position at noon. Lat. 32-15' N.; Long. 123-33' E.—Light S.E. winds and fine. At daylight one swallow on board; also saw one land bird, but this last did not remain long enough for me to identify. In the afternoon many swallows round the ship and these remained until night. A few ducks flying close to the surface in a N.E. direction; only an occasional gull (*L canus*) seen.

17th April.—After a very foggy night and heavy rain squalls; this morning being 60 miles N.E. of Hieshan Island.

saw one albatross, possibly (*D nigripes*) a paddy bird (*A timoriensis*)? and one land bird.

18th April.—From Hieshan Island to Tung Yung Island; wind N.N.E. (5); thick misty rain. All night I heard the whistle of plover or sandpiper flying close overhead, possibly attracted by the electric masthead lights. At daylight I saw a large flock of these birds flying to the Westward—one Albatross (*D albatrus*) and one petrel which I thought was Bulwer's Petrel. This petrel is frequently seen, the entire plumage being sooty black. This evening when off Turnabout several swallows were seen.

19th April.—Weather very foggy; North-Easterly winds (3); mist and rain. Chapel Island West distant four miles; many swallows round the ship since daylight, and four Brahminy Kites, these last remaining near the ship for some hours. Later a Warbler which remained on board until the ship anchored off Swatow.

26th April.—Swatow to Shanghai. Wind N.E. (4-5); squally; passing through Haitan Straits, one very black plumaged heron, several egret, and three ducks, also a few swallows hawking over the ship whilst in the straits.

27th April.—Off Bella Vista—calm and foggy. Many Cormorants chasing shoals of fish and one albatross (*D nigripes*) in company. Large numbers of great black flies came on board. No gulls all day.

1st May.—Shanghai to Newchwang—Lat. 33-04' N., Long. 122-42' E.—wind North (3) very fine. Several small finches and three whimbrel on board.

9th May.—Newchwang to Amoy.—Iron Island distant seven miles Northward—calm and dense fog. A heron and several small land birds—one bunting and a lark seen.

10th May.—20 miles to the Eastward of the N.E. Promontory—calm and dense fog. A number of land birds on board. One titmouse and others I could not identify; also an owl. This evening a swallow and a Ringed Plover (*Æ placida*).

11th May.—Lat. 34-00' N., Long. 123-25' E. moderate West winds after much fog. Several land birds flying round. At one time long broad bands of Plankton extending from North and South. A school of Dolphin (*D delphi*) accompanied the ship for an hour or two at noon.

12th May.—Barren Islands distant three miles to the West. S.W. winds and hazy. A large heron at daylight and several linnets and finches seen. After passing Tong Ting many large pink coloured crabs swimming on the surface. Hereabouts, the sea was discoloured by large patches of a dirty brown coloured medusae or plankton.

13th May.—Piki Shan Islands, 18 miles distant to the Westward.

A finch and many flies on board this morning. Also many large crabs both pink and bluish coloured, swimming on the surface.

14th May.—Off Ocksan Island—wind N.E. (5). Thick misty rain. Numbers of flying fish seen, mostly small ones; and some kind of finch flew on board.

27th May.—Amoy to Shanghai: off Hieshan Islands; calm and hazy. Much plankton on the surface, sometimes forming long streaky bands of a light straw colour; these appeared to be like grains of millet and is commonly spoken of as "Whale's food" by sailors. Many small reddish coloured medusae; saw a garfish and another large perch-like fish. There was not a ripple on the sea, so that, standing with back to the sun, I could see some distance under water. A few crabs seen swimming, and a moth flew on board.

31st May.—Shanghai to Newchwang—wind N.N.E. (4); a dense fog. Several land birds on board, amongst which I noticed a white-throat and a grey starling (*S cineraceus*). The position being 50 miles South of N.E. Promontory.

6th June.—Newchwang to Dalny;—wind W.S.W. (4) hazy; off Liau-ti-shan Promontory. A wren on board and many swallows hawking for flies between the ship and shore—we being two miles off the land. Also, a pair of swifts (*C pacificus*). After rounding the Promontory and being then to leeward, numbers of moths and some dragon flies came on board.

9th June.—Dalny to Chefoo. Leaving Dalny a few swifts (*C pacificus*) seen over the sea and an occasional gull (*I canus*). The air was full of moths and the ship was covered with them. This moth was a small brown coloured insect, not at all strong on the wing.

11th June.—Chefoo to Hongkong; light West wind and over-cast; off Tong Ting Island. Before our departure and since leaving port, the ship has been covered with moths, which is the more astonishing as yesterday there was plenty of wind which must have blown hundreds overboard; but they still seem as numerous as ever—and I don't think any have come on board since we have been at sea. Some flying fish were seen; and latter, nearing Hieshan Islands, large shoals of medusae, these generally white, but some reddish brown; also a few crabs swimming; a pair of immature albatross (*D albatrus*).

12th June.—Being 35 miles N.E. of Tung Yung Islands; Easterly winds; dull overcast. An egret (*A coromanda*) in breeding plumage stalked round the deck. This afternoon saw a Bulwer's petrel.

13th June.—Chapel Island West 18 miles; calm and fine clear weather. The same birds again to-day, that is to say, the egret and Bulwer's petrel, but whether the birds of yesterday I

cannot say. Some dragon flies; flying fish numerous, mostly small fry with an occasional larger fish.

23rd June.—Hongkong to Newchwang; a moderate S.W. monsoon. Since leaving Hongkong on the 23rd flying fish plentiful until we passed Turnabout.

25th June.—This morning being off Namki Islands; no flying fish seen. Nearing Heachu saw a Bulwer's petrel; house flies in thousands came on board—a perfect pest.

26th June.—Lat. 32-00' N., Long. 122-40' E. wind; S.E. (4) smooth sea. A school of Black fish *Pseudorca crassidens*). With few exceptions, there is always a doubt about naming whales. But this species is not uncommon. They did not remain long in view. I remarked the posterior margins of the dorsal fins of some were gashed, probably the result of fights; others again had extremely falcate fins. In fact the dorsal fin varied in most of them—a fact I have noted previously. This whale has much greater girth between the dorsal fin and head, and the flukes are much more powerful than depicted in the British Museum Catalogue on Whales.

28th June.—Nearing Liau-ti-shan Promontory; calm and clear. Three swifts (*C. pacificus*) paid us a visit when at least 25 miles from land. These were hawking for moths and house flies which were plentiful hereabouts.

4th July.—Newchwang to Amoy; strong E.S.E. (5) winds; a thick misty rain. One albatross (*D. nigripes*) and several petrels following the wake of the ship; all, however, kept a long distance astern. Lat. 34-00' N., Long. 122-40' E. approximate position.

6th July.—Off Peshan Island; variable winds and heavy rain. From 9 to 10 a.m. passing discoloured water due to plankton or "whale's food" of a reddish colour. Saw an albatross (*D. nigripes*) hereabouts. This afternoon more "whale's food" until sunset; when passing through this a strong smell of ozone present; a few petrels seen; unable to identify these.

7th July.—Off Turnabout Island; S.W. monsoon (5); several petrels, possibly *O. furiginosa*; one egret (*A. coromanda*); flying fish numerous since sunrise; also saw the dorsal fin of a large shark.

15th July.—Amoy to Shanghai; calm and fine. After leaving the outer Harbour of Amoy, several egrets (*A. coromanda*) met with; a few garfish, swimming crabs and much plankton. Some very large fish occasionally leap out of the water.

21st July.—Shanghai to Newchwang; wind S.W. (3); foggy. Many petrels following in the ship's wake since daylight; off N.E. Promontory at 7 p.m.

22nd July.—Off Liau-ti-shan Promontory; Easterly winds and fog; air full of large dragon flies. A few moths and numbers of house flies. Saw one Swift and one Swallow.

26th July.—Nearing Newchwang ; S.W. (4-5) ; squally. A flight of ducks going S.W., very high up.

1st August. Chefoo to Swatow. Light sky winds (2-3) foggy. One egret at daylight quickly lost in the fog, but I could hear it calling for a long time.

Noon ; Lat. 32-45' N., Long. 122.46' E. Since daylight the surface of the sea has been covered with "whale's food" and plankton. Denser patches being quite pink in colour and this was found at midnight when we were well inside of Saddle Island ; it being flood tide. The sea after dark being brilliant with phosphorescence ; too much for the comfort of the officer on watch as it made it extremely difficult to discern lights on other vessels. So far as I could see the actual "whale's food" had nothing to do with the phosphorescence which must have been caused by other plankton. As when the ship passed through these patches of "whale's food" which were easily seen with the surrounding phosphorescent light, no light was given off in the patches. The contrast being very marked.

Beyond a few flying fish seen during the day, nothing seemed to be attracted by all this matter on the surface.

2nd August.—Off Tong Ting Islet ; calm and fine. When passing through the Chusans via Bonham Pass, the "whale's food" was thick everywhere—denser patches showing pink as yesterday. Approaching the Hieshan Islands, a few petrels following in the ship's wake—these were mostly quite black, others a sooty brown ; the lighter coloured birds may be immature of the Japanese petrel (*O. longirostris*) ; one albatross (*D. nigripes*) and several egrets.

3rd August.—Off Tae Island—distant 16 miles ; calm and fine clear weather. Several petrel, whether Bulwer's or Japanese, I cannot determine. As they are larger than those seen yesterday, I think it probable that they are Bulwer's. None followed the ship, which these seldom do—whereas the Japanese or Swinhoe's frequently follow in the wake. Jelly fish and plankton abundant. Flying fish occasionally rise from the surface. Saw several parties of egret, three or four at a time ; and I note I have met with more egrets at sea this year than I can remember to have done previously. This afternoon nearing Turnabout, one albatross (*D. nigripes*) and a pair of large rorqual (full grown) going N.E. The dorsal fin is placed far back, general colour black, underside shading off to a dirty white.

Bulwer's petrel also seen. Here many small flocks of some sea bird which I have not been able to identify.

4th August.—Chapel Island N.W. distant three miles. Light S.W. monsoon. A S.W. swell. Quantities of "whale's food" passed in patches of a pinkish colour, continues throughout the day. An albatross (*D. nigripes*) and flocks of the sea birds seen yesterday, some more egrets (*A. coromanda*) ; a great number

of gannet—all immature birds; these last plentiful from Rees Islands. Also, saw a few terns. Large fish following the shoals of small fry, which were continually leaping out of the water to escape capture from below, thus falling an easy prey to the birds. Medusae and plankton all day.

11th August.—Swatow to Shanghai; off Turnabout Island; moderate S.W. monsoon and fine. Swarms of dragon flies and house flies cover the ship. One land bird like a yellow-hammer to which its flight was also similar. A Bulwer's petrel seen, and some flying fish. Many flocks of the small sea-birds already remarked on the 3rd inst. The plumage of these is a speckled light brown on back and wings, white or light underparts. I have never got a really good view of these.

12th August.—Off Heachu. Fresh S.W. monsoon. One albatross, probably (*D albatrus*); flying fish plentiful, also medusae.

13th August.—About midnight, being near Tong Ting, a flycatcher flew into the chart-room, where I secured it. So far as I could judge, it agrees with (*X tricolour*) the Corean flycatcher.

After passing Tungsha Light-vessel, I noticed a few petrels (colour sooty brown) following in the ship's wake. I cannot remember to have seen petrels so far up the Yangtse before. Many dragon flies on board here.

15th August.—Shanghai to Newchwang; light Easterly wind and cloud. Lat. 32-45' N., Long. 122-45' E. A common King-fish and some kind of finch seen; some dragon flies and several kinds of butterflies. Before night several more finches and a pair of plover passed by.

A few Japanese (?) or Swinhoe's petrel following in the wake; and one large whale seen blowing some distance away to the West. Flying-fish continue to be seen until sunset.

16th August.—Gulf of Pechili. Calm off Wei-Hai-Wei. Passed several schools of dolphin, which were following the large shoals of fish, with an occasional cormorant in attendance, medusae and plankton general; many small moths and innumerable flies—several species of these last.

Approaching North Point, large shoals of fish hereabouts; numbers of dead fish seen.

17th August.—Gulf of Pechili; calm; off the Bittern Shallows, I saw three hammer-headed sharks, ranging from six feet to three feet. These close to the surface and frequently had their dorsal fin out of water. Many very large jelly-fish, one enormous fellow with long streamers—which were quite ten feet in length—and of a brownish colour. Many shoals of fish and dead ones, possibly killed in the nets of fishermen; some moths and butterflies of various kinds; houseflies a pest.

22nd August.—Dalny to Amoy. Off S.E. Promontory; N.E. winds and fine.

A few Japanese petrels following in the wake. Some moths and houseflies.

23rd August.—Lat. 34-00' N., Long. 122-40' E., thick mist and heavy rain.

Several petrels follow astern as yesterday, possibly the same birds. Flies were more numerous to-day. Saw a tern before dark.

24th August.—Lat. 32-50' N., Long. 122-35' E. Typhoon wind West (8). At daybreak large flocks of land birds came screaming past. I heard them long before daylight broke sufficiently to see any, afterwards when light these proved to be finches or linnets and perhaps bunting. Certainly they were very mixed flocks of birds, blown off the land by the gale, and of course one only got a glimpse, as, piping their loudest, they were blown past the ship and out to sea, to eventual destruction. So it is difficult to say what they were. And though many tried to turn and secure a footing on the ship, none succeeded, all without exception being blown away to sea.

Later as the gale moderated during the day, many swallows were seen to follow the same fate as those earlier in the day. Once I saw several swallows together, but more frequently single ones only.

A good view of the petrel shows that they have forked tails. Many dragon flies this afternoon.

25th August.—Off Heachu—Light N.W. (2-3) winds and very fine. Numbers of petrels follow, all with forked tails. They are the Sooty petrel I think. In addition, Bulwer's petrel is also present, but this does not follow in the wake. An occasional albatross (*D albatrus*) with us all day.

Several swallows seen and numerous dragon flies.

26th August.—Approaching Turnabout. S.W. (4) monsoon. Several petrels, probably *Ofuliginosa*, and an albatross (*D albatrus*) seen.

Flocks of small sea birds resting on the water, also a pair of wagtail and an egret, much plankton both yesterday and to-day.

10th September.—Foochow to Tientsin. Light airs from S.E., fine and clear; calm sea. Passing through the Season Channel, large shoals of fish here, amongst which the gulls were busy. There were at least four kinds of gulls and I believe a Fulmar petrel, but this last did not appear to be feeding. At night between Season Channel and Turret Island the sea was brilliant with phosphorescent light, which was most disturbing, but we passed out of it before reaching Turret Island.

11th September.—Off Hieshan Island. Calm and fine. One swift and a small bird—its plumage entirely of a dark blue colour.

Many dragon flies and occasionally a butterfly and moth seen. Plankton noticed and patches of "whale's food" of a light straw colour. Later an albatross (*D albatrus*) was seen.

12th September.—Shaweishan Island, west 20 miles; light north winds fine. Several petrels following in our wake; also a larger species is seen to pass, but this does not follow the steamer. Saw one plover and several gray wagtail, which last remained on board all night.

13th September.—Lat. 35-00' N., Long. 122-40' E. Calm and overcast. Many more grey-wagtails at daylight, and one Piedwagtail; a few shrikes, a quail and two king-fishers, of these last, one was (*H pileatus*) and the other (*A bengalensis*). The larger bird sat on the main trunk all day, so I was in no doubt about what it was. Also saw a pair of birds, having a brownish black back and speckled breast with a long tail, the two central feathers being extra long.

Also a titmouse and several other birds, which, however, I was unable to get a quiet look at. A large flock of sea birds passed over high up, going S.E. Two varieties of petrel—that which follows us is the smaller and has a straight tail, the larger has a forked tail—both kinds sooty black. A pair of wagtail with yellow heads. And during the day numbers of other land birds. Also I saw a bunting of some kind and several wrens and titmouse. I caught a popular hawk moth after dark. Several other kinds of moths seen and many dragon flies.

14th September.—Gulf of Pechili. Approaching Howki Island; wind N.W. (4-5) fine and clear. Many small land birds around, amongst which I noticed several wagtails, but owing to the strong wind they do not settle on the ship.

21st September.—At Anchor between 2 to 3 miles off Ta Ching Ho. Light N.E. winds and fine. Large flights of ducks, all going South. Many swallows hawking round the ship as the flies swarm out here. A few pigeons came on board, and a small bat. To this last a Chinese having caught it, had tied piece of cabbage to it and thrown it overboard before I could prevent him. This was done apparently to watch it struggling in the water! Plenty of locusts and moths.

25th September.—Still at Ta Ching Ho. Wind N.E. Weather fine but temperature falling to 61° (degrees). Since the ship has been here, migration seems to be taking place, as at daybreak there are always some land birds around, amongst which are usually a great number of swallows; these and others have generally all gone by 9 a.m. or sooner. Though during the day there is always some straggler from the flock to be seen on board. Even then their stay is so short that it is difficult to identify many of them. Amongst the birds, pigeons, linnets and finches were particularly numerous, and also, various small

birds unknown to me. Titmouse were plentiful and an occasional small hawk.

To-day another and larger species of bat on board ; this having tried the rigging and various ropes, at length dropped on to the deck and crept into cover under some planks, where I hope it rested in safety.

But very few gulls were seen during our stay.

25th September.—Ta Ching Ho to the Yangtse. Southerly wind and fine weather.

From Taku Bar to Howki. Very few land birds came on board. Some pigeons with white margins to their tails—their most distinctive feature, and several small wren like birds, whose general plumage was coloured green ; and a few swallows. Other birds were seen to fly past the ship but made no stay and I am unable to say what these were. Just after dark a pair of hawks tried to rest on the ship, but being close to land I think they soon left.

29th September.—From Howki to the N. E. Promontory. Only two land birds seen and an occasional gull. All yesterday and to-day many hawk-moths, possibly the sphinx. To-day dragon flies, many other moths and some bees seen.

30th September.—Lat. 34-00' N., Long. 122-46' E., Calm. At daylight, several land birds around ; saw one wagtail. Dragon flies, moths and butterflies—the ship is covered with them.

1st October.—Approaching Woosung. Light Southerly airs and fine. Numerous dragon flies and moths around. One large bat, lost in the sunlight, tried to settle on the funnel for a rest, finding this to be too hot, it eventually caught hold of the jib and settled on that.

13th November.—Hongkong to Newchwang, A strong N. E. monsoon, thick misty rain. Passing close to Single Island and North of Pauk Piah, many land birds flew on board ; some gulls (*L canus*) seen. The sea is full of medusae.

15th November.—Shaweishan Island, west 20 miles distant. Wind N. N. W. (5) and fine. Several land birds and a few pigeons seen to rest on board. The cat caught several birds, but I was unable to identify any of them.

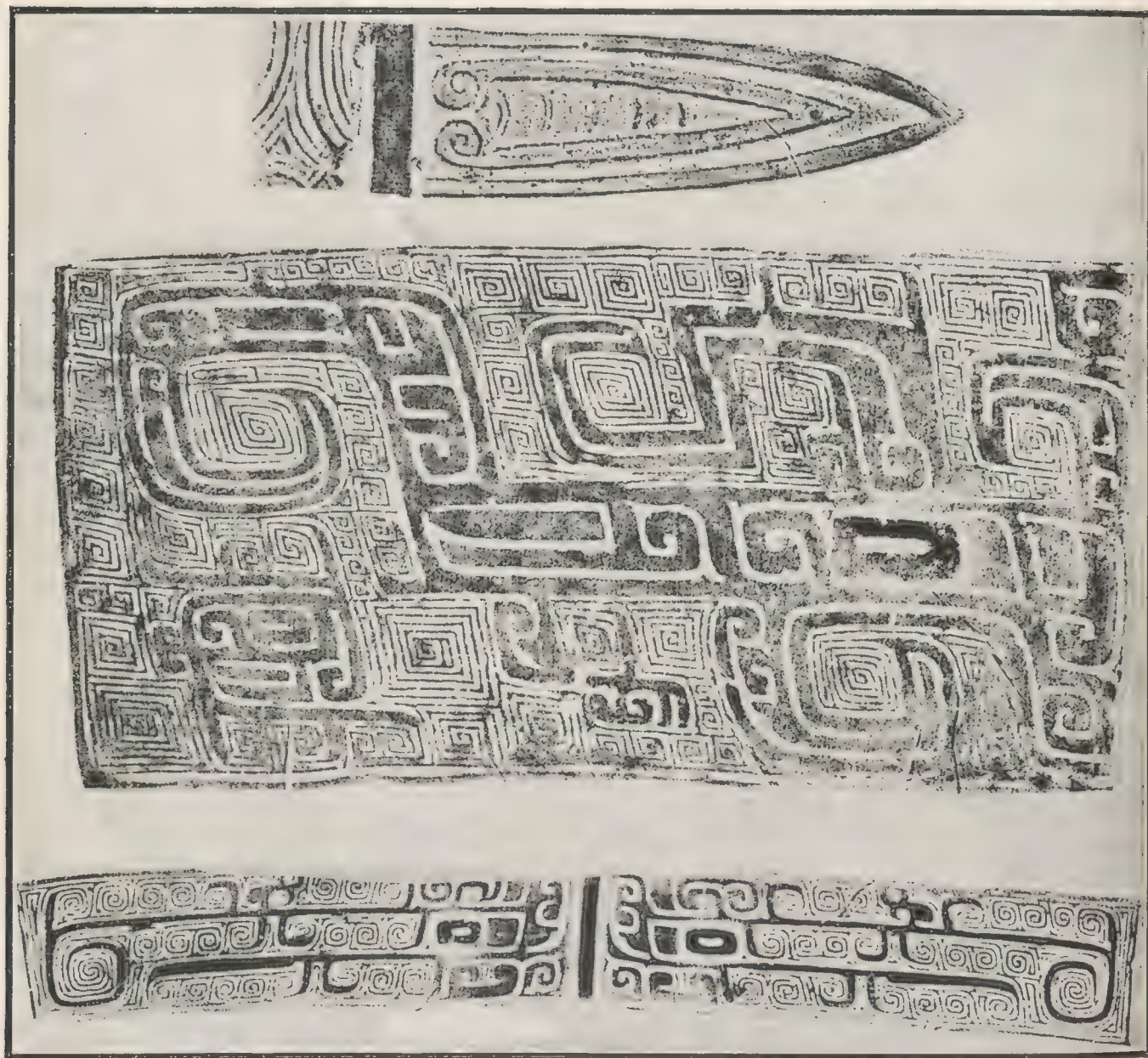
19th November.—Gulf of Pechile. Fresh N. W. winds and fine. A few sea birds only to be seen. Gulls seem very scarce.

29th November.—Forty miles N. E. of Shaweishan Island. Wind N. W. (4). Very clear weather. At daylight one pigeon on board. Numbers of geese seen flying South. Six large herons or cranes going West. Later nine swan (three immature) ; a lot of sparrows resting on the ship. Several gulls (*L canus*).

26th December.—Yangtse, below Woosung. Light Easterly airs and fog. Many ducks, all mullard so far as I could tell. Also several white swan.

28th December.—Shanghai to Haichow. Calm and fine. Lat. 33-45' N., Long. 122-45' E. Saw a school of small whales or dolphins playing round the ship for half an hour; otherwise nothing to be seen excepting an occasional immature gull (*L. canus*).

29th December.—Approaching Pingtau Island. Calm and hazy. Many cormorants, too gorged to be able to fly. A few ducks—black with a patch of white on each wing. Other diving birds seen, head streaked with white; none of which have I been able to identify. Geese seen, all flying South.



INK RUBBINGS FROM ARCHAIC BRONZES, SHOWING SOME OF THE EARLY
CHINESE DECORATIVE MOTIVES

THE METHOD OF MAKING INK RUBBINGS.

ARTHUR STANLEY

Curator of the Shanghai Museum.

The practice of making so-called 'rubbings' as a record of incised inscriptions, decorative motives and pictures is an old one in China. It forms a regular industry; shops being found in almost any Chinese city whose business is the making or selling of 'rubbings.' Their collection is an accompaniment of the cult of literature, often taken literally as the love of letters themselves. The study of the written character is a subject in itself, which is rated of considerable importance by 'scholars.' Some 'rubbings' are considered worthy of mounting and hanging in the same way as pictures. 'Rubbings' generally, especially of old inscriptions, are treasured more in China than in any other country. Inscriptions on bronze are almost indestructible by time, and these especially are collected and prized by connoisseurs. Pictures are comparatively short lived but the main features of pictures, such as some of those of Wutaotzu, are often preserved to posterity by being cut in stone, and from these incised stones 'rubbings' are multiplied indefinitely. 'Rubbings' are sold for a few cents to a dollar or more each.

MATERIALS AND APPARATUS.

Slightly tough white paper about twice as thick as ordinary tissue paper is used; that obtained from bamboo fibre being preferred. This is used for the actual 'rubbing'; being fixed in complete apposition with the inscription or incision which it is desired to duplicate.

Coarser paper is placed over this as a protecting layer during the process of applying the thin paper to the cavities of the incisions.

A slightly *Adhesive stiffening* obtained from a sea water alga, somewhat resembling Agar-Agar, by dissolving a few fragments of the seaweed in boiling water in a bowl. This is for moistening the thin paper so as to make it workable and, after drying, to retain the moulded form.

A stiff, long, narrow, finely made *two ended brush* produced by binding a bundle of horse hair about the middle. The ends are cut square and one end is bigger than the other. This is used for depressing the paper by a process of vertical tapping into the cavities of the inscription.

A *pad of wool* tightly tied in a smooth silk cloth, like a puff ball, for actually applying the ink to the paper in situ.

A little ordinary *Chinese ink* (mostly made of lampblack and glue) in a smooth saucer where it is allowed to dry before use.

PROCESS.

The thin paper is wetted with water and seaweed solution and applied to the object. When it is in situ it is painted with the seaweed solution. It is then dried with a pad of cotton and covered with the coarser paper, being patted with the cotton pad to get apposition and dryness. The horsehair pushing brush is then applied by making vertical taps so as to force the paper into the depressions of the incisions. This takes a considerable time and requires care to prevent tearing of the paper. When perfect apposition is obtained it is allowed to dry, the coarse protecting paper being taken away. When completely dry it is ready for the final inking. The saucer with the layer of dried ink is made slightly damp by the breath and the powder-puff pad is gently rubbed round the saucer, the adherent ink being delicately transferred to the high reliefs of the paper by quiet patting. Finally the impression is carefully detached and placed between flat surfaces.

To take an impression from a concave surface the paper is cut at the sides in strips which are applied to the surface and fixed in position by the seaweed solution.

I wish to acknowledge the facilities so kindly afforded me by Dr. Ferguson in Peking for following the process used in making rubbings of the inscriptions of some rare bronzes.

STONE IMPLEMENTS ON THE UPPER YANGTZE AND MIN RIVERS.

J. HUSTON EDGAR.

The popular idea of PANKU with an axe and chisel fashioning the world seems to banish the idea of a Stone Age from Chinese History. But when we read later of Hwang Ti (Yiu Hsiung) by the use of shield and spear defeating rivals who wielded swords and halberds, or used cross-bows, the inference drawn from the Panku myth is not so clear. Indeed; we are very much inclined to view the social ideals of a pre-Fuhsi period as little different from those of Negroid Australia to-day where men live, eat, and act, more like the beasts than representatives of the Genus Homo! Moreover, we are informed by old Records of China that men in the very early ages "Knew their mothers but could not be sure of their fathers. Their desires were unrestrained. They ate as much as they could digest and threw away the remainder. They dressed in the skins and drunk the blood of the animals which the slew." The great Reformer Fu-hsi, however, taught these savages to rear animals; he also founded cities, invented writing, and instituted marriage. Now it is almost certain if this account in any way represents the primitive civilization of China; we must assume the existence of eolithic and palaeolithic, as well as neolithic implements. Of the latter we are certain and the present collection might even prove the former.

These implements were found by the writer between 1914 and 1915 during journeys along the Yangtze and its affluent known as the Min. The zone extends from Luchow to Weichow: a distance of about four hundred English miles. The implements were invariably found in the vicinity of the main rivers but often high above the flood level. The Chinese, so far, are quite ignorant of their use, and in no way interested in them. The implements were found in the red sandstone, granite, and limestone belts, but not in the depression known as the Chengtu Plain. In one or two cases they have been found in clefts of limestone or under rock shelters, but it seems most convenient just now to suspect that many have been embedded in the sandstone; and some seem to be associated with the fluvial or glacial débris of other ages.

Opinions will differ both about the age and use of these specimens. They may be weapons of a pre-Fuhsi period, but implements of a neolithic and even palaeolithic stages of culture often exist side by side with a highly developed iron age. Indeed, a few decades ago the now extinct Tasmanian might have used guns and eoliths against my friends. So the problem before us is: When did the age of bronze and iron appear in West China, and how long afterwards did the stone age survive? The type of instrument might suggest a great antiquity, but it might prove also only a very low type of not far distant savagery. The fact, too, that none have been found above 4,000 feet might induce some to connect them with an ice age in High Asia; and their absence from the Chengtu Plain might lead others to suppose that they ante-date the breaking away of the waters which once covered that depression. In the meantime, however, we leave the problem to the future and—specialists!

A detailed description of the specimens will now be given.

No. 1. Was found near Old Luchow in W. Szechwan. It was some distance from the River and about 30 feet above the high water mark. It was lying beneath some worn sandstone, but as marks of adzes are plainly seen, we may conclude that it was unearthed in the adjacent fields. This type of stone is not known in the regions around Luchow.

No. 2. Was found 20 li below Na Ch'i in a sandstone cleft, where it had probably been exposed by erosion. It was splintered from a piece of water-worn débris high above the present flood water level. The chipping and some rubbing may be plainly seen. The débris mentioned above is very ancient.

No. 3. This specimen was found far from human habitation, about 45 li below Suifu. It was near the flood level but is no doubt from the same water-worn ledges mentioned as the home of *No. 2.*

No. 4. Was found 90 li above Suifu in débris from the same ancient deposits. A careful search in this material will fail to reveal anything like it in size and shape. Everything else is smooth and rounded.

No. 5. This interesting implement was found on the right bank of the Fu River 45 li above Kiating. It was just below the flood mark and the hardened clay attached to it would indicate that it was at one time firmly embedded in the Red Sandstone of Kiating.

No. 6. Experts must decide whether this is road metal or an implement rudely fashioned by man at some unknown time for an unknown object. It was found at the lower end of the Chengtu Plain.

No. 7. This implement was found in a limestone cave 25 li above Kwan-hsien. In the same cave were the exhibits "A" and





“B.” The former seems to be an implement sharpener and the latter may be a prehistoric curio.

No. 8. A few miles from Weichow there are great banks of clay, sand and water-worn stones. The deposits are probably of glacial origin and have been cut through by an affluent of the Min. This specimen was found amongst the water-worn debris in the bed of the stream.

No. 9. Was found in a rock shelter hundreds of feet above the river. The locality, shape, and groove would suggest its being a rough prehistoric implement, although near at hand are settlements engaged in cutting curios from the same material.

Nos. 10 and 11. These were found in the ancient Chinese settlement of Weichow and are probably clumsy prehistoric weapons. Here also, we have large quantities of moraine-like deposits.

No. 12. This is also from Weichow. If it ever was a prehistoric hammer, the Chinese of another age seem to have used it for pounding chillies. The shape and some grinding are in favour of its antiquity.

In conclusion the writer has a large assortment of stones which seem to be most easily explained by classing them with prehistoric implements known as eoliths. But the “eolith” has not been recognised definitely as a product of human culture. Consequently; it seems wiser to keep this part of the collection in seclusion for a while! In the meantime, however, Nos. 5 and 9 are given as samples of many others.

THE G. E. MORRISON LIBRARY.

S. COULING, M.A.

Foreign merchants have made much money out of trade with China, and at the same time foreign students have worked hard to understand the country and the people. Books have been written in almost every western language to illustrate the Art, Literature, Language and Institutions of China. It seems, therefore, a little strange that in China there is no important public collection of such works ; if one wishes to study China in foreign books it must be done, not in China but in some library in Europe or America.

Needing to make researches lately I was confronted with this difficulty. The Royal Asiatic Society Library in Shanghai can have nothing said against it but one thing. It is admirably catalogued and attended to, the room is comfortable, and it is generously kept open during long hours for the studious public. Its only fault is that, belonging to a small Society, its outlay on books must be limited, so that although it possesses many works of great value there is always the chance that the very book a student most needs is not there. The library is a credit to the Society rather than to the public spirit of Shanghai.

At Zi-ka-wei the Jesuit Fathers have a very fine library, but naturally it is not meant for public use, and naturally also it is largely theological. It includes a magnificent collection of works in Chinese.

As regards works on China the City Library of Hongkong is unworthy of any third-rate town in England. The books are few, dirty, and worm-eaten, the room is furnished with bare wooden tables and chairs ; Chinese sit about and smoke and talk to their hearts' content, while the Chinese caretaker takes no care.

I was hospitably made free of the Hongkong Club library, and found it a very different place. It contained a larger number of works on China than one might expect, including such books as DE GROOT'S *Religious System* and a set of *The Chinese Repository*.

I heard that the Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient had a splendid library in Hanoi. This is what one would expect from the French leadership in Sinology ; yet the British surely might come second. I was unfortunately not able to visit Hanoi.

The one worthy library of foreign works on China is that collected by Dr. G. E. MORRISON in Peking ; and since all such

collections have a way of getting shifted, destroyed or scattered it seems fitting that the Journal should record some notes on it as it at present exists. Having spoken of destruction it may be remarked that this library was saved with great difficulty while the famous Han-lin Library was burning in 1900.

It is the most complete collection of works on China ever made. It was begun some five and twenty years ago, before the owner had any idea of residence in China; and as far as a liberal expenditure of money combined with a keen and affectionate interest could make it so, the attempt to form a comprehensive collection of works in every language and every subject on China and its dependencies past and present has been remarkably successful.

Among the treasures of this collection are a copy of the first Latin edition of MARCO POLO, printed at Antwerp in 1485; and the first Italian edition, Venice 1496; fifteen different editions earlier than the year 1700; and many later editions in various languages. Sir JOHN MANDEVILLE is also well represented, the earliest editions being the Latin one of 1485 and the Italian of 1486. The first Portuguese edition of MENDEZ PINTO (1614) is in the library, as well as the first Spanish and the first English editions. The dictionaries and grammars number over four hundred. There are several early MS. dictionaries including a MS. Chinese-Latin dictionary, by the missionary PADRE JUAN FERNANDEZ, finished at Chang-tê fu, 1724. Other dictionaries there are of Mongol, Manchu, Tibetan, Turki, etc., and the smallest pocket-dictionary of most recent date finds its place with the rest.

There are some books to which a personal interest is given by the marginal notes of some former owner or otherwise. Thus there are a number of books from the library of BECKFORD, the author of *Vathek*; and from the Duke of NORFOLK's, the Duke of CAMBRIDGE's and the Duke of HAMILTON's libraries. There is a copy of DEGUIGNES' *Voyage à Peking* with the accompanying Atlas of plates coloured by the author himself, specially bound with an adulatory letter for presentation to Prince TALLEYRAND. Among other interesting rarities there is the log-book of the Earl of ASHBURNHAM, written by the fifth officer and illustrated by him with exquisite pen-and-ink sketches of Canton, Macao, etc., as they were at that early date, 1757. There is also the original log-book of the *Lion* frigate which brought out the MACARTNEY Embassy in 1792-4, besides, MACARTNEY's Diary and Letter-book, a Common-place Book in MACARTNEY's own hand and several volumes of the MACARTNEY manuscripts.

The library possesses a complete and handsomely bound copy of the *Chinese Repository*, as well as complete sets of Blue Books, Customs publications, *Journal Asiatique* and other reviews and

journals dealing with China: with such rare sets as the *China Punch*, *The Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, etc.

There is an unusually large collection of books on the Ornithology of China; rare works on various departments of Natural History; a collection of the works on Chinese Art, many very costly and some hardly now to be obtained at all; such as W. T. WALTER'S *Collection of Porcelain*, THOMPSON'S *Catalogue of Blue and White Porcelain* with WHISTLER'S illustrations, etc.

The library also includes a large collection of Maps and engravings, etc., connected with China, many of unique interest; such as the twenty-four engravings by HELMAN, both coloured and uncoloured. *Faits Memorables des Empereurs de la Chine*; the *Victories of CHIEN LUNG*; two volumes of original drawings and watercolours by CHINNERY; the *Costumes of China*, original watercolour paintings by ALEXANDER, the artist who accompanied MACARTNEY'S Embassy, etc., and the collection of manuscripts in three volumes dealing with the Jesuit-Dominican controversy over the question of Ancestral Worship in China formed by the learned Canonico GHISELLI.

A valuable part of the library is the extraordinary collection of pamphlets dealing with China; many of these by their very insignificance of appearance have become exceedingly scarce, but every one that can be found is bought to enrich this unique library. Magazine articles dealing with China published in various European languages find their proper places in this collection.

Being a private collection the building which contains it is not furnished for public use, and it has the special disadvantage of not being heated in the winter, so that for several months it is impossible to study there. The owner is, however, most generous in allowing the freest access to the whole collection to any genuine student.

THE KINSHIP OF THE ENGLISH AND CHINESE LANGUAGES.*

GEORGE LANNING.

Historiographer to the Shanghai Municipal Council.

A request from my esteemed friend and colleague on the Committee of the N.C.B.R.A.S., the Rev. Isaac Mason, must be my apology for this lecture. Its purpose is purely suggestive. It comes to no *ex cathedra* conclusions, and dogmatism in any shape or form is foreign to its spirit. But it is hoped that it may do something to revive interest in what, from many points of view, is a matter of considerable importance. There are hundreds of missionaries and others in China better fitted by knowledge and experience than I am to deal with this subject, but the matter has been suggested to me by researches in other fields. It has long been a popular belief that the Chinese are, and always have been, a people apart. I have found, on the contrary, a number of similarities in government, law, customs, and so on, and these have suggested that in the people of this land we find men not merely fashioned physically, mentally, and morally like ourselves, but men who have, in not a few particulars, passed through experiences similar to our own.

My first acquaintance with the Chinese language began in 1875, when I learnt something of the Shanghai dialect. Later on some acquaintance with mandarin was added, but for years past, lacking compulsory use, this has dwindled almost to vanishing point. The power to use dictionaries remains, however, and in indulging this ability I have often found myself wandering, as it were, in the Hanlin, the "Forest of Pencils," plucking here a leaf and there a flower from literary growths resembling our own. If it be permissible in this connexion to employ illustrations from animal and vegetable life, one may remark that just as the acorns on a Chinese oak resemble, but are not precisely like those of the British variety, and just as the Chinese rook says "Caw" in tones similar to those of his western cousin, so in the Chinese literary forest there are growths which, to those of a philological turn of mind, cannot fail to suggest others of like look or sound in the leafy literary glades of our English language.

* Delivered before the Society April 4th, 1917.

If the serious philologist should happen to be convinced, by the examples presently to be given, that there is "something in" what I have to say, the younger and less well equipped student will be glad to know that what is here set forth has come from modest sources. A battered copy of Stent's dictionary, dated 1871, an even older edition of a vocabulary of the Shanghai dialect by the late Dr. Edkins, and Mrs. Foster's little pocket dictionary, of the Hankow mandarin, complete the sum total of the Chinese sources availed of. I have seen Dr. Giles's great work and no more, On the English side, Skeat's etymological dictionary, though not, perhaps, an absolute necessity, is an authoritative stand-by. "China's Place in Philology," published by Dr. Edkins in 1871, is at once a mine of information and a stimulus to work. To avoid plagiarism, however, I have carefully refrained from using the list of 152 examples on which he bases his belief in the kinship of the Chinese and the Indo-European languages, and thus the 333 examples included in my own lists will be found to provide on the whole new specimens. Lack of knowledge on my part of the old Chinese pronunciations, which Dr. Edkins had, I have felt to be a serious drawback, but it is to be hoped that, now the subject has been revived, some sinologue capable in every respect may be tempted to examine the matter afresh.

All necessary laws regarding such linguistic exercises, and a number of most useful warnings will be found in Skeat. My edition is dated 1884. One of his rules runs thus:—"Mere resemblances of form and apparent connection in sense between languages which have different phonetic laws or no necessary connection are commonly a delusion, and are not to be regarded." It will be the duty of competent men to decide whether there is or is not sufficient resemblance between the phonetic laws governing the Indo-European group and the Chinese, and whether there is that "necessary connection" which may prove the examples attached to this paper to be no mere "delusion." But as Skeat says, fresh evidence is being constantly added, and we have Dr. Mutschman's authority for the following statement:—"If we are ever to get any farther in the elucidation of the numerous isolated Indo-Germanic words, it will be through the discovery of another related language, or family of languages." It would be absurd, of course, to talk of a twentieth century discovery of Chinese, yet this much may be said with some confidence, that the possible relationship of Chinese with western tongues is a subject which will bear far closer investigation than it has yet received.

Dr. Edkins, writing in 1870, quotes Genesis XI. 1, which declares that "The whole earth was of one language and of one speech." On page XX of his introduction he says:—"It was reserved for modern science to propose for the first time the hitherto unknown hypothesis of a plurality of origins for the

human species and for human language." Recent writers with more knowledge and less dogmatism modestly refuse to lay down any positive ruling on the matter. Dr. Peile, of Cambridge University, says, in his little philological Primer, that "Language can say nothing for a common origin of the Aryan and Semitic races, much less for the original unity of man. On the other hand, it can say nothing that is conclusive against it. . . . Languages apparently so utterly diverse as Hebrew and Greek may have sprung from one stock : but it must have been a very long time ago. In fact, on this point the science of language should be dumb." Dr. Mutschmann, in a work published in 1916, says :— "With our present knowledge it is impossible to derive all languages from a common origin."

With careful utterances such as these, we will now contrast the cocksureness of a writer in a nineteenth century edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Writing of the Chinese he says :— "Their speech and the character in which it is written have maintained their primitive purity, and may be considered exclusively their own. This language more than anything besides stamps them as an original people : *it has no resemblance whatever to any other language, living or dead, ancient or modern : it has neither borrowed nor lent anything to any other nation or people now in existence, excepting to those who are unquestionably of Chinese origin.*" (The italics are not in the original.) That China has neither borrowed nor lent—except within modern times—is doubtless true. Borrowing and lending are neighbourly acts, and the Chinese and Westerns have not been neighbours. But that fact does not in the slightest degree affect the question of kinship. English has borrowed little from German to which, as everybody knows, it is so closely related.

Dr. Marshman, translator of the first complete version of the Bible into Chinese, compared the monosyllable of the Indian Ramayana with those of the Chinese Shi-king, and found no two of them to express the same idea in both languages. He next compared 265 words of the Mahabarat in Bengalee, and discovered seven monosyllables of which three were Chinese. He found the speech of Judah to Joseph, (Gen. XLIV), to contain sixteen monosyllables, of which seven were Chinese, and in Abraham's intercession for Sodom ten, of which four were Chinese. Yet he held that there was no resemblance between the two languages ! Apparently, he confined himself to monosyllables. That is certainly not necessary in English whatever may be the case in Hindustani. To take one example : our English word "precocious" consists of a prefix, an affix, and the root "co," which originally meant to "cook, or ripen." No great stretch of the philological imagination is needed to refer this to the Chinese word "K'ao" to warm, to roast.

Logically, languages are cognate or they are not. If the latter, there may yet be resemblances between certain words. Man's vocal organs are very similar whatever his race, and coincidences both in sound and sense might be expected. But in cognate languages these similarities are of such common occurrence as to force men to the conclusion that once upon a time the ancestors of the peoples using them were not only closely related, but used the same words, and had the same customs. The greater the number of resemblances, the shorter the period since division took: the fewer the number, the longer the period. In less than a century and a half differences between the English of England, and the English of the United States have become fairly common. What differences then should we expect between Chinese and English due to a separation of thousands of years, supposing for argument's sake that their ancestors were ever closely related?

The edition of Stent which I have used contains 4,222 defined words with, doubtless, many more in illustrative phrases and other examples. From these I have compiled a list of 333 words which suggest relationship, sometimes very close, with words common in the Indo-European group. These words are, or are not, cognate. If they are, no more need be said, except that China must be taken by the hand and welcomed within the world-wide family to which the English-speaking peoples belong. If they are not, then the task of accounting for their presence in such numbers must fall on those who deny the kinship. It will be seen that out of all Stent's words one in thirteen is suggested to have English cognates. I am inclined to think that a closer examination than I have been able yet to give would find one in ten.

Chinese, being one of the isolating group of languages, retains the separate use of its monosyllables. But the probable fact is that all original language was monosyllabic, and Skeat lays down the dictum that the fewer the letters the older the word. Even Chinese characters vary in this respect. "Ho" a door, is plainly a more simple, and probably far older, word than "Liang," two. It may be of interest to note that of the 4,000 words in Stent, more than half are transliterated by three or less than three letters. There are 68 needing but one, 841 with two, and 1,324 with three, while of the rest none need more than six, and few as many as that.

To readers with a previous knowledge of the curious transformations to which words in their long series of adventures are subject, it will not be necessary to give examples, but for those to whom the subject is new a few will doubtless be welcome. They are taken from the great English authority previously mentioned. Thus "book" is referred back to an Aryan root, "Bhag," to eat. The "bole" of a tree is connected with "ball." "Mansion" comes from a root meaning "to think." "Palpitate"

has grown out of "Spar" to quiver. "Su," to generate, gives us "Suck," and so on. "Truly cognate words," says Skeat, "ought not to be *too much* alike," a dictum which I beg the reader to remember when scanning the attached lists.

Another source of difference in the appearance of cognate words is due to the route followed since they left the parent stem. "Genus" and "kin," for example, are from an identical root, but "kin" came down to us in one line, and "genus" in another. So with "grain-corn, kiln-hearth, theme-doom, putrid-foul," and even "canto-hen." In no other language than English is there, probably, so rich a collection of words of this class. As for letter changes, these follow the principle of what is known as Grimm's law. Thus we have "alt" and "old," in German and English respectively, meaning the same thing. Letter changes in Chinese dialects run through the whole gamut. The character for "eye" is in mandarin transliterated "yen," while in the Shanghai dialect it is a nasal "ngay."

Comparatively few words now in common use to express the same thought in English and Chinese are exactly alike. The relationship between "dog" and "kow," for example, would be hard to discover. But in Shanghai "kow," dog, is pronounced almost precisely like our "cur," and a very appropriate pronunciation it is as a rule. But more frequently relationship is shown less directly. Thus, although one might, perhaps, search the biggest of Chinese dictionaries fruitlessly for a cognate to the word "God," it is not difficult to find one akin to "deity." The Aryan "diw" to shine, the Sanskrit "di," the name of an Anglo-Saxon god, "Tiw," whence "Tuesday," the Greek "Ze-us," the Latin "De-us," and the English words, "de-ity, di-vine," etc. are in the mind of a philologist identical with the Chinese "Ti," the Supreme Being.

The subjoined lists, in which all the words now to be commented on will be found, makes, here and there, bolder suggestions than this. For instance, there is in Chinese a word, "ai" to obstruct. Could there be a better or more natural obstruction than an island? And the old English for it is "ait"! Later on this took the form of "eyot," but it is present in Chelsea, Batters-ea, and Angles-ey, in all of which the last two letters mean island. The pronunciation of the first syllable in "is-land" itself very closely resembles the Chinese, "Ai." Merely a coincidence, perhaps.

Then there is our word "town," so common in the shape of the affix "-ton," as in Kingston. But the "-don" in London is another word. Old provincial people often pronounce the former "toon" even now. Is it once more a coincidence that in Chinese we have both these words with almost precisely the same meanings? "Chang-chia-t'un" (pronounced "toon") is the

name of a place where a somewhat grave international incident took place recently. The name literally is "Chang-family-town," village, or hamlet. There are probably thousands of them in China. Then there is the "tun" which is our dune, down, dun or don, as in Dun-elm, (Durham), and London. In England such a "dun" was often fortified: in China the "tun" was used as a "beacon-mound, or tower."

Yet another suggestive resemblance is to be found in this connection. Skeat defines "town" as "a large village," and, he says, "the old sense is simply enclosure." The "toon" often applied to a single farmhouse with its outbuildings, as it does in China. But the notion regarding the fence or enclosure is precisely like that connected with the Chinese word, "ch'eng" a city. The original meaning of "ch'eng" is a wall, but in time the same name was given to the enclosure, the "city" itself.

"Chai" in Chinese means an enclosure, camp, or fort. The Kremlin in Moscow would have presented an ideal illustration. In England I know of but one "chai" with its walls complete. That is Chester, and it is impossible not to connect "chai" with the Latin "castra" and the English Lancaster, Chester, etc.

Turning to words dealing with water, we find in Scott's poetry frequent reference to the Celtic word, "linn." Not one English child in a hundred knows what a "linn" is, and the last place where its meaning might be looked for would be a Chinese dictionary. Turn up the "l's," however, and there it is, "Lin," a pool, with exactly the same meaning as in Scotland, for what are pools here are lakes there. Then there is the word "pool" itself, as seen in Poole, and Liverpool. It is the Welsh "pwl," and a cognate Chinese word is "poo," as in Huang-poo "an inlet, or reach. Skeat derives "Holland" from "Holt-land," *i.e.* Wood-land, but I would respectfully suggest that instead of a woodland, Holland is rather a moat or ditch land, and if that is so, its name is surely akin to the Chinese "Ho," or "Hao," a ditch, or moat.

European geography abounds with river names more or less resembling "Dan." There is the Dan-u-be, to begin with. There is the Don, the Dene, and the "Dane" in Cheshire. They evidently come from a common source, and what shall we say when we find that in China, "Tan" is also the name of a river, and that another "Tan" means a rapid?

If we turn from inanimate nature and come to man himself, resemblances follow us. In England we have "men," and we talk of the rights of "man," meaning all the people. These same people in China are "min." And in both countries there is a broad distinction made between "the upper ten" and the common or "stupid" people, as they are sometimes styled in China. We know what a world of difference there used to be

between the "officers and men" in a British regiment. Whether there is any connection between the Chinese "man" barbarous, rude, and the lower conception of man in England is a matter on which I will not venture to express an opinion. Our English "man" comes from a root meaning "to think," but there is no resemblance between the Chinese "man" and the character "hsiang," to think.

Class IV of the examples will, there is reason to believe, be sufficiently eloquent to speak for itself. But special attention may be called to the group of family words, "Chia, Ka, Chin, etc." and their evident kinship with "Child, Chit, Kith and Kin." Possibly more convincing than words of seemingly closer relationship are such examples as "Lin," a cross beam. Who would have dreamt that the very "*lin-tel*" of our own door had its relative in China?

Who, moreover, would have expected to find that the very syllables attendant upon our entrance into, and our exit from, life should have a striking likeness? "Na-tus," the Latin word which gives us our "na-tive, na-tal," and the French "né," is closely comparable with the Chinese "na, or nai," milk, to suckle, etc. So, in Chinese, to die is "si," and our own death is a "*de-cease*."

One other group may be mentioned, the "Chih, Chuh, Chia, Chiao" words all referring to biting, eating, the jaws, etc. Can any serious fault be found with the suggestion that these words are cognate with "Chew, Chaw, Jaw," and others?

Reference has already been made to the "T'un" or village as a whole, and to the similarity between the literal meaning of our English "town" and the Chinese "Ch'eng," both meaning a protective fence or wall, and then developing the broader meaning of that which is contained within the fence. It may be interesting to notice a further resemblance. Villages cannot afford to build surrounding walls, but everybody can secure a fence of some sort or other, and as a rule does so. Two of the names for fences of this kind are both transliterated "Pa," a word cognate perhaps, with our "Ha," as seen in "Ha-ha" a hedge. But the chief point which it is desired to make in this instance is that though the Chinese "Pa" is, so far as I know, nowhere to be found in an independent English monosyllabic form, it is found in combination, as in "Pa-lings, Pa-lisades, etc.," and may even be found in the "bails" of cricket, which originally meant the stumps. In fact the character "Cha," meaning a "barrier" contains what looks like a wicket of four stumps, while the word for a "boundary" is "Fan," comparable with our "Fence."

Food provides a number of apparent cognates. The very word meaning "to feed," as an infant, is "Fu." Things that are sweet are "Kan" in Chinese, and "candy" suggests itself at once. The drink of our ancient forefathers "mead" is akin with

the Chinese "mi," honey, of which the Welsh is "me-theglin." "Kao" meaning "cake" in English is sufficiently suggestive of relationship.

Amongst the domestic animals we should have expected to find cognates if they existed at all. We have seen the Chinese dog as the "cur" he often is. What is the Chinese barndoor fowl, whose native name is "Chi," but our own "chicken" with the tail cut off? Then there is "Chu," the pig. What is that but the old Aryan root, "Su" from which comes our "sow, swine," etc.? But perhaps the most astonishing example in this list is to be found in the connection between the Chinese "ma," or "mo," meaning horse, and our own equine terminology. "Ma" and "horse" have no literary resemblance whatever. But what of "mare"? And the "mo" is not far removed from our humble "moke," though "mule" is somewhat more distant. But, as is the case in so many words, sidelights are available when direct rays are cut off. It has been quite forgotten in these days that our gallant Field Marshals' title literally translated into Chinese would read—"Ma-fu," a horse-boy, or groom. But so it is. The native gentleman of unknown antecedents and dubious character, who is the "Master of the Horse" in Shanghai, is the representative of the Master of the Horse in the establishment of a British Sovereign. The latter originally was a "marshal," the former is still a "ma-fu." Skeat traces the whole story, omitting, of course, the Chinese. "Marr," a battle-horse, is the nearest approach to the Chinese "Ma." This is one of several examples of which Skeat says the root is unknown.

But if village life in China suggests relationship with that of England, so does the life of our courts. Sir Chaloner Alabaster, once upon a time wrote learnedly on the "Lü-li" of China? What are the "Lü" and the "Li"? They are the laws of China, and we may well compare "Lü" with "loi" and "law" and "loyal," while the "Li" may suggest "leal." Moreover, the "Lü" stands for what we know as Common Law, and the "Li" for Statute Law as known in pre-republican days, the object of the "Li" being the adjustment of ancient legislation to modern requirements, as in our own case. Whether we may connect our legal "tort" with the Chinese "tao," a noose or snare, or with another "tao," to demand, to exact, we will leave undecided. But "Hsi," to inherit, will surely suggest to a legal mind the phrase "to be seised of," and it is not unlikely that "Lu," to bribe, will hint at "lure." Similarly, the legal terms, "sue, suit, pursue," cannot fail to be referred to the Chinese "sui," to accompany, to follow. But China is not confined to one term for law: there is "Fa," meaning method, rule, law, and Latin suggests a cognate in the expression, "per fas et nefas." So when we know that "Lei" in Chinese means a crime or fault, we may ask what of *Lèse majesté*?

Of words denoting common actions some fourscore are given, and the list might easily be added to. "Tu," to read, to study, will call up a picture of a "Tu-tor," and if the Shanghai pronunciation be taken, "Doh," we come all the closer to "doctus" and "doctor." "Chang," to sing, carries us on to "chant, canticle, canto," and the rest. One specially interesting cognate seems to be connected with a word now almost obsolete, the word "do" in the words "do-off," (doff) : "do-on," (don) : "do-up," (dup) : and "do-out," (dout). This word appears in Chinese in the form of "to," and is heard in the sentence, "To e-zong," to take-off clothing.

There is a group of four very remarkable words when we consider their apparent kinship. They are all transliterated "Ting," and are as follows :—

1. "Ting," to fix, to settle, to decide.
2. ,, to criticise, to examine, etc.
3. ,, to hear, to listen, to obey.
4. ,, a court, an office, a hall, etc.

It is impossible not to connect these words with the Teutonic "Thing," of which, amongst others, Skeat gives the following meanings, "office, reason, council, assembly, meeting, assize." The word in English has now lost its "h" and appears in "Hus-ting," literally, the "house of the ting," while we find it in common use in the Norwegian "Storthing," and the Danish "Lands thing" and "Folke thing." Must we put all this down to mere chance?

Amongst the common names of things, also, there is no lack of words demanding notice. Our boots and shoes have their Chinese relatives. Curiously enough, the Shanghai dialect word "Shoo" means "boot," and the Soochow "bu" or "bu-ah" means "shoes or sandals," perhaps from the kind of "rush" of which they are some times made. A "piece" of cloth is "pi." A complete literary work, in no matter how many volumes, is with us a "book." To the Chinese it is a "bu." When we weep, *tears* flow, and the two words connecting the ideas of weeping and dripping or dropping in Chinese are both transliterated "Ti." Amongst our weights and measures we have a "Stone" and a "tun," or "ton." The Chinese also have their "Tan," and a "Shih" or "Zah," meaning a "stone."

Relational words in some of their branches demand far too much space to be considered in a general paper. Pronouns would need almost a volume, and to trace the similarities between the "Es" verbs, the "esse, sum, es, est," etc, in Latin, the "is" in English, and the "shih" or "sz" in Chinese, to say nothing of others, would take more space than can possibly be given. A few specimens, therefore, are all that can be noted. There is a most interesting correspondence between the adventures of our English

“who,” and the Chinese “Ho” meaning the same thing. The former in olden times was connected with “why, when, where, whither,” etc., while the latter means now, according to Stent, “who? what? which? how? in what way? why?” One very common word in Chinese is “To,” meaning “many, much, more,” and also “very.” Is it possible that this word is akin to a curious Scandinavian and English word, also meaning “very,” the word “dog” as seen in “dog-cheap”?

Our duplicate conjunctions, “either—or,” or, as we sometimes use them, “or—or,” are seen in the Shanghai expression, “O-sz chêng-tsau : o-sz ming-tsau :” Either to-day or to-morrow. But it is in such words as “fey,” meaning, fated or doomed to die, words that have passed beyond common literary use, that the most striking examples are to be found. Our Scottish “fey,” doomed to die: what is it but the Chinese “fei,” incurable? Dr. Mutschmann, referring to what were probably some of the first words to be “invented,” mentions “swim” and “row.” Both are given in the lists to follow. But there is one which deserves special mention. It has been no part of the writer’s duty to suggest other than literary conclusions, but it is evident that words are also full of history, as may be seen, for example in the word “pecuniary,” derived from a root meaning “to fasten,” and so passing on to the one early form of wealth, the cattle that were fastened up. Here is another word which may possibly offer a suggestion regarding the early condition of our distant ancestors. From the Chinese it is transliterated “Yao,” but its meaning is as closely akin to that of our English, “Yaw,” as is the pronunciation which is practically the same. In English, “yaw” means to turn off the course, as a ship. In Chinese, “yao,” or “yu” means to use the scull or “yu-loh” which propels the “sanpan” or “gondola of the East,” and of which every stroke is the natural cause of “yawing.” Is it possible that, in the hidden past, the forefathers of both the Chinese and British races lived somewhere along the banks of a great river (shall we say the Tigris or Euphrates ?) where “yawing,” in both senses, was a daily experience?

As to the word “row,” we may, without attempting anything extraordinary, suggest its kinship with the Chinese “lu,” an oar, or scull. We find the “u” still in “rudder,” originally a paddle, and Skeat informs us that “row-lock” is simply “oar-lock.”

Alternative pronunciations are, in some cases, given to words in the following lists. They refer to differing provincial usages. If it were possible at the present moment to use the Cantonese dialect as the Pekingese has been, there would be found striking examples where the final consonant has been retained. Final p, k, t, and other consonants which have disappeared from the Shanghai tongue have been retained by the more virile Cantonese,

and thus in some cases suggest closer relations with English. Grimm's law has, perhaps, wider play in China than in Europe. It would be difficult to say what vowels and consonants are not interchangeable amongst the many variations of the Chinese tongue. "Shan," a hill, in mandarin, is a nasal "Say" in Shanghai. "Shih," the verb "to be," becomes, "Sz," while as we have seen, "Yen," the eye changes into "Ngay," to rhyme with "hay" but with very little, if any, of the "y."

To those unacquainted with Stent's transliteration, the following guide is essential:—A is pronounced as in ah: ê as u in "pun": i as e: ao nearly as ou in "fount": ei as ay in "lay": u as oo: uo as wo: ou as ow: in "how": iao as i-ao: in "miao," the cat's cry: ie as in "hsieh," the i retaining its e sound: hs like s with its slight precedent aspirate. The "tsz" and "ssü" sounds are practically vowel-less sibilants, the former having the "ts" sound in "wants." They can only be learnt from native lips. Initials, such as "Ch'," with an apostrophe need a following aspirate. In "Yü" the vowel is consonantal in character. The "ch" is soft, as in "church," and other consonants have the same force as in English.

One point to be carefully remembered by those unacquainted with Chinese is this:—In almost all the examples to follow, single words stand alone. They are so used only in the written language. "Kan," to see, for instance, has its pictorial or character meaning quite clear to the eye. But as there are many "kans," it has been found desirable to add a second cognate word in order to distinguish one from another, and thus in the spoken language "kan" becomes "kan-chien," both words meaning "to see." But for this custom, and for the varied tones and aspirates, a real difficulty might exist owing to the many homonyms, or what looks like them in Romanised Chinese. There are no fewer than 39 words transliterated as "Hsi" in Stent, 48 as "Chu," while "Chi" boasts but one short of a hundred!

CLASSIFIED LISTS OF EXAMPLES.

CLASS I. HEAVEN, ETC.

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
1.	帝	Ti,	Emperor, monarch, ruler, the Supreme.	A. rt. Diw, to shine: Sanskrit Di, to shine. A.S. Tiw, (Tuesday). Jupiter, Zeus, Deus, Deity, de- mon, divine.
2.	天	Tien,	Heaven.	
3.	神	Shên,	Spirits, God.	Sanctus, saint, etc.
4.	聖	Sheng,	Sacred, holy, canonized.	
5.	僧	Seng,	Buddhist priests.	
6.	旦	Tan,	Morning, sunrise, etc.	Dawn. The original character shows the sun just above the horizon.
7.	北	Pei, (poh)	The north.	Boreas, boreal.
8.	西	Hsi,	The west.	Zephyr, Occident, L. occidere, to set, as the sun. Vespers, Hesperus.
9.	雪	Hsueh, (Sih)	Snow, to whiten.	A. rt. snig., L. nix, nivis., snow, sleet, ice.
10.	暮	Mu,	Evening.	A. rt. Ma, to measure, Moon.
11.	霖	Lin,	Abundant genial rain.	Rain.

CLASS II. THE EARTH.

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
1.	地	Ti,	The earth, the ground, a place.	Gk. ge., Welsh, tir, land, Cf. Cantire. Lat. terra. Heb. tit, clay.
2.	田	Ti, Di (Tien)	A field.	L. praedium, ground. Prae- dial in Eng. law. Georgics., Till, tilth, Dutch, telen, to cultivate, delve, dibble, dig.
3.	谷	Ku,	A valley.	Welsh. Cwm: combe, Ilfra- combe.
4.	窟	Ku,	A hole, a cavern.	
5.	島	Tao,	An island.	Cumberland. Cave, cavity excavation. Cove, Gully.
6.	陡	Tou,	A steep hill.	Tor, a steep hill. Torbay, Torquay.
7.	碍	Ai,	To obstruct.	Tower. Hindustani, Diu, an island. Welsh, Twr, a tower.
8.	墩	Tun,	A hillock, mound.	Ait, eyot, ea, as in Chelsea, ey as in Anglesey. Isle, island.
9.	屯	T'un,	The country, a village.	Dune, downs, London, Dunelm (Durham.) Town, and "ton" as in Taunton, Kingston, &c.

CLASS II. THE EARTH—*cont.*

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
10.	坦	Tan,	A level plain.	} Itan, a country, as in Lusitania, Aquitania. Possibly "den" a wooded valley. Chasm, gap, gate, as in Ramsgate. Ghaut, Ghat, Cattegat. Canyon. Possibly "gorge" from an A. rt. Gar, to swallow.
11.	灘	Tan,	Level, even, broad.	
12.	開	K'ai,	To open.	
13.	街	Ka, (Chia)	A street	Haigh, La Haye Sainte, &c. all from rt. "Kak," to surround.
14.	柵	Cha,	A railing, barrier.	A. S. or, ora, a shore. Cf. Bognor, Windsor, Elsinore, Rhyn, a promontory, Penrhyn. Chine, the spine, backbone. Castra, Chester, Lancaster.
15.	閘	Cha,	A gate, pass, canal lock.	
16.	澳	Ao, (er)	A high bank, shore, bay.	
17.	嶺	Ling,	A mountain top	
18.	脊	Chi,	The spine, a ridge	
19.	塞	Sai,	An enclosure, camp, fort.	

CLASS III. WATER, ETC.

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
1.	溼	Shih,	Wet, damp, moist.	} Soak, suck, A. rt. Sar, to flow. Serum, souse, saturate.
2.	洒	Sa,	To sprinkle, to wash.	
3.	水	Shui, (Sz)	Water.	
4.	海	Hai,	The sea	Welsh, gwy, wy. Cf. The Wye, Erse, uisge. Many examples, e.g. Esk, Easedale, Isis, Thames. Dutch, Yssel. "Uisge" has taken ten forms, of which, "is, es" are nearest the Shanghai "Sz." Cf. Oise. Change H to S, and "Say" is provincial English. The Shanghai pronunciation is "Ay."
5.	淋	Lin,	A pool.	Celtic, line, llyn, a pool.
6.	浦	Pu,	An inlet.	Welsh, Pwll, pool, Poole, Dwr, water, Cf. Durbach, Oder, a German river. Woda, Slavonic for water. O-ceanus, the great stream "a word of unknown origin." Skeat.
7.	湖	Hu,	A lake.	Bore. Cf. the Hangchow bore.
8.	河	Ho,	A river.	Cf. European rivers, Dane, Don, Danube, etc., Tarn, Norse "tiorn" a tear, may be allied to Chinese "Ti" a tear.
9.	波	Po,	A wave.	
10.	潭	Tan,	The name of a river.	
11.	灘	Tan,	A rapid.	

CLASS III. WATER, ETC.—*cont.*

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
12.	江	Kiang, (Chiang Kong)	A river.	Celtic, Tian, running water. The Shanghai "king" may be referred to the Welsh "a-fon", Avon, a river. The names of many French rivers end with-on, or-onne. Fjord, ford. Cf. Haverford.
13.	埠	Fu,	A harbour.	Cf. A. rt. "ku," hollow, and the Chinese "ku," a hole or cavern. Hole, hollow, and, perhaps, Holland, though a different origin has been accepted.
14.	壑	Ho,	A ditch, pit.	
15.	壕	Hao,	A ditch moat.	
16.	涓	Chüan,	A rill.	Burn, bourn, Bannockburn.
17.	泉	Ch'üan,	A spring.	Arabic, "ain" a fountain: Engedi. A. rt. "sru," to flow, whence "Stream."
18.	壩	Pa,	An embankment.	Bank, of which word the early history is obscure.
19.	泡	Pao,	bubbles.	Spa, a mineral spring.
20.	沛	Péi,	heavy rain.	Pronounced, spaw. Spate, a flood.

CLASS IV. MAN, AND HIS RELATIONSHIPS.

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
1.	民 蠻	Min, Man,	The people, subjects. Rude, barbarous.	Man, men. "Min" and "men" are both used in contradistinction with the higher classes. "Min" are the common people in China as opposed to the officials. Cf. "Officers and men" in an army.
2.	男	Nan,	Male of mankind.	
3.	女	Nü,	Female.	
4.	幼	Yu,	Young.	Cf. Ital. "ninno" a child. Span. "nino" an infant, one of small experience, and Eng. "ninny" a simpleton.
5.	孩 兒	Hai, Er,	A child, children generally	Sanskrit, yuvan. Youth, Juvenile.
6.	妹	Mei,		There is a curious resemblance between the Shanghai "ertsz," and the English "urchin," both meaning a boy.
7.	家	Chia, Ka,	House, family, home, Sect.	Maid.
8.	親	Ch'in,	Closely related.	Child, chit, kid, Kith and kin.

CLASS IV. MAN, AND HIS RELATIONSHIPS—*cont.*

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
9.	父	Fu,	Father,	A. rt. Pa, to protect, nourish. Pater, Mater, paternal, etc.
10.	母	Mu,	Mother.	
11.	哥	Ko,	An elder brother.	} Cousin, coz.
12.		Ku,	Cousins.	
13.	妻	Ch'i,	A wife.	
14.	闔	Ho,	A door, a family.	} Egyptisan "She," a woman. She, an English pronoun. Home. -ham, as in Birmingham. Skeat says "All from A. rt. "Ki" to rest, while "house" is from "Ku" to cover. Scot Hoos. "Home" was a purely concrete word in the beginning
15.	戶	Hu,	A door, a hole, a family.	
16.	檁	Lin,	A cross beam.	Lintel.
17.	瓦	Wa,	Tiles, bricks.	Wall. A. rt. War, to protect. Cf. vallum.
18.	抱	Pao, (Bo)	To carry, as a child.	A. rt. Bhar, to bear. Porter, support.
19.	火	Huo, (Fu)	Fire, fiery, etc.	Fume. Fr. feu. A. rt. Pu, to purify. fumigate. Focus. Hot, old form, "hoot."
20.	赫	Ho,	Bright, fiery.	Fuse, forge, hob.
21.	烤	Kao,	To warm, roast, toast.	} A. rt. Kwak, to cook, to ripen. Cf. cook, cautery, precocious, decoction, coke, etc.
22.	鍋	Kuo,	A cooking-pan.	
23.	釜	Fu,	A cooking-pan.	
24.	爍	Hu,	To scorch, to burn.	Roast.
25.	客	Ko,	A guest, visitor.	Cola, a dweller, farmer. Agricola. "Incola" was an Inhabitant with out full rights, an immigrant.
26.	徒	Tu,	A pupil.	Tutor, tuition.
27.	鼻	Pi, Pih	The nose.	Peak, beak, Pic. Bec. Also spit, as in Spithead.
28.	面	Mien,	The face.	Mien, demean, demeanour. Skeat says the etymol. of "mien" is doubtful.
29.	心	Hsin,	The heart, mind, motives.	} Sincere, sincerity, "Origin doubtful." (Skeat). Possibly, "singular." The single thing was a new thing.
30.	信	Hsin,	True, truth, to believe.	
31.	新	Hsin,	Fresh, new, recent.	
32.	胞	Pao,	The womb.	Paunch, pouch.
33.	脖	Po,	The neck.	Poll, Pow. The old word referred both to head and neck, Cf. Chinese "Tou." head.
34.	腿	T'ui,	Legs, thighs.	Thews, A. rt. Tu, to be strong. to swell. Cf. Tuber, Tumid.
35.	股	Ku,	Thigh,	Thumb. A. rt. Ku, to swell. Cf. cumulus, accumulate.
36.	肘	Cheu,	The elbow.	Cubitus.
37.	磨	Mo,	To grind, a stone, a mill.	Lat. mola, a mill, Molars.

CLASS IV. MAN, AND HIS RELATIONSHIPS—*cont.*

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
38.	兒	Erh,	A son.	Earl, which first means a man. In the Dorset dialect. "Did er?" means "Did he?"
39.	耳	Erh,	The ear, to hear.	Ear, hear, auricle, audience.
40.	伴	Pan,	A partner.	Companion, said to be from "com." and "panis," bread.
41.	餅	Ping,	Cakes, pastry.	Peel, pellicle, pare, pelt, "epi-" upon: epidermis.
42.	皮	Pi,	Skin.	Juice, ju-venile. Allied to "yu," young.
43.	乳	Ju,	Milk, the breasts, to suck.	Food.
44.	哺	Fu,	To feed.	A. Sax. ceowan. Chew, chaw, jaw, chaps, chop.
45.	頰	Chia,	The jaws.	
46.	吃	Chih, Chuh	To eat.	
47.	嚼	Chiao,	To bite, to chew.	Naive, natus, native, natal.
48.	奶	Nai,	Milk, to suckle.	

CLASS V. VILLAGE LIFE.

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
1.	芭	Pa,	A fence.	Ha-ha, a hedge. Root, Hag, to surround. Fence or defence, has been connected with the Sanskrit, "Han," to kill, from which the sense of protection naturally arises. Cf. Pa-lings, palisades, bails (the original stumps) in cricket.
2.	笆	Pa,	A kind of bamboo, a fence	
3.	藩	F'an,	A boundary.	
4.	狗	Kow, Kerh	A dog.	Cur. Canus, canine.
5.	鷄	Chi,	A fowl.	Chick, chicken.
6.	猪	Chu,	The pig.	A. rt. Su, sow, swine.
7.	馬	Mo, Ma	The horse.	Mare, marshal, a master of horse. In Chinese he would have been called a ma-fu. The nearest western word to "ma" is the Icelandic "Marr" a battle-horse.
8.	牛	Niu,	An ox, cow.	Neat, from an Aryan base, Nud. Neat cattle, neat's foot oil, etc.
9.	稞	Ko,	Wheat, grain.	Corn.
10.	蜜	Mi,	Honey.	Mead, metheglin, "Mel" honey, mellifluous.
11.	甘	Kan,	Sweet.	Candy.
12.	酸	Swan, Sèh	Sour.	Sour.
13.	欄	Lan,	A railing.	Welsh, Llan, an enclosure.

CLASS V. VILLAGE LIFE—*cont.*

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
14.	欄	Ko,	A partition.	Cohors, an enclosure. A. rt. Char. to enclose. A. S. Geard, a yard, a court.
15.	朝	Ch'ao,	The court, a dynasty.	
16.	店	Tien,	A shop, inn.	Welsh, Ty, a cottage, a common suffix.
17.	盆	P'ên,	A basin, tub.	Punt.
18.	盤	P'an,	A tub, dish, plate.	Pan.
19.	車	Chê,	A carriage, cart.	Chariot, car, cart.
20.	窩	Wo,	A nest, den, cave, hole, lair.	Coop, cubby-hole (provincial). Cubicle, cot, cote.
21.	盂	Yu,	A cup, basin.	Ewer.
22.	買	Mai,	To buy.	Lat. Mercor, Mercatus, merchant, mercantile, commerce, mart, market, etc.
23.	賣	Mai,	To sell.	
24.	貿	Mao,	To deal, trade, barter.	
25.	幹	Kan,	Business, to manage, ability.	Can (able), "Cunnan," to know, Cunning.
26.	庇	Pi,	To screen, to shelter.	"By," or "Bere," a dwelling, farm, or village. Byre. (The word has troubled etymologists). Skeat. Cf. harbour, bower, harbour.
27.	保	Pao,	To protect, sustain.	
28.	壁	Pi,	A wall.	
29.	石	Shih,	A stone.	"Sal" a stone house. Cf. Kensal, Walsall, etc.
30.	薪	Hsin,	Fuel, firewood.	Singe, Sear, to burn, calcine, in cinerate, cinder, etc.

CLASS VI. LAW.

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
1.	律	Lü,	Statutes, laws, laws in general	Speaking generally, "Lü" covers the common, and "Li" the statute law. Cf. law, loyal, legal, leal, rule. Possibly, licitor.
2.	例	Li,	Laws, regulations, amendments.	
3.	套	Tao,	A noose, a snare,	Tort, torture, torment,
4.	討	T'ao,	To demand, to exact.	
5.	盜	Tao,	To rob, pilfer, steal.	Rack.
6.	拉	La,	To pull, to drag, to break	
7.	抄	Chao,	To copy, to confiscate.	Chouse. This word is referred to a Turkish official of 1609, whose dishonesty is said to have been phenomenal.
8.	召	Chao,	A summons, to summon.	
9.	拷	Kao,	To beat, to torture.	Penal, peccant, ("etymology doubtful." Skeat.) Impeach.
10.	弊	Pi,	A fault, crime.	To pose, a poser.
11.	駁	Po,	To contradict.	Theme. Gk. Thema.
12.	題	Ti,	A theme, a subject.	Cozen, a form of cousin.
12.	拘	Kou,	To hook, to entice, to inveigle.	

CLASS VI. LAW—*cont.*

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
13.	襲	Hsi,	To inherit, hereditary.	To be seized of.
14.	費	Fei,	Expense.	Fee.
15.	卑	Pi,	To give, to allow, to let.	Pay : possibly pecuniary.
16.	卑	Pei,	To cause, to give, to fulfil.	
17.	匪	Fei,	Vagabonds, banditti.	
18.	發遣	Fa-chien,	To send into exile.	
19.	法	Fa,	Law, rule, punishment.	Per fas et nefas, Nefarious.
20.	犯	Fan,	To offend.	Offend.
21.	戾	Lei,	Crime, fault.	Lèse majesté,
22.	傷	Lei,	To injure.	Fr. Leser, to wrong, to injure. Lesion.
23.	賠	P'ei,	To make up a loss.	Bail.
24.	禮	Li,	Rites, politeness.	Skeat derives "rite" from "Ri," to run, whence river, rivulet.
25.	保	Pao,	To guarantee, to be surety for	Pawn.
26.	司	Ssu,	To manage, control.	Soc, Socage.
27.	遂	Sui,	To accompany, to follow.	Pur-sue, ensue, sue, suit.
28.	賂	Lu,	To bribe, bribes.	Lure,
29.	該	Kai,	To owe.	Captive, Caitiff, he who owed his life. (?) "Cash" first referred to the till, or "money-box." Gage, as in mortgage.
30.	債	Chai,	To owe, to be in debt.	
31.	賒	Shê,	To give credit, to trust, to owe.	
32.	黨	Tang,	A gang, band,	Gang.
33.	帝	Ti,	A ruler.	Lat. "Tyrannus," a lord, master, absolute sovereign. Old spellings, "Tyran, Tiran, Tirant. The Chin- ese," Ta-Jen, "or Ta-ren" is literally the "great man."
34.	大	Ta,	Great	
35.	人	Jen, (Ren)	A man	
36.	搬	Pan,	To shift, remove, put away	
37.	頒	Pan,	To disperse, spread, etc.,	Cf. Ban, Banns : from A. rt "Bhan," to speak. Later meanings ; curse excom, munication, banishment- etc. A Chinese word "Pao," means to announce, to proclaim.
38.	拌	Pan,	To reject, separate.	
39.	判	P'an,	To decide, judge	
40.	梠	Ko,	A partition.	

"Court" in Eng. is allied to
"Yard," and that, traced
to its source, "Ghas," to
enclose, takes us back to
the "hurdle" which made
the enclosure. Chinese
partitions are of wattled
bamboo, the hurdle over
again.

CLASS VII. COMMON ACTIONS.

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
1.	咯	Ko,	To cough, to hawk.	Cough. (Of imitative words, a considerable number might be given. This is a specimen: the rest are ignored.)
2.	哭	Ku,	To cry.	Cry.
3.	叫	Chiao, (Kao)	To call, to tell.	Call, Hebrew, kol, a voice. Vocal, Vox.
4.	告	Kao,	To command.	
5.	喝	Ho,	To drink.	Lat. "poto." Potation, Pot. A. rt. Pa, to drink.
6.	泡	Pao,	To pour.	Pour. Generally referred to the Welsh, "bwrw," to rain.
7.	織	Chê. (Tek)	To weave.	Lat. "texo," texture, textile.
8.	緯	Wei,	To weave, the woof.	Weave; widow's <i>weeds</i> .
9.	脚	Chiao, (Kah)	The foot,	Kick.
10.	咬	Yao, (Ngau)	To bite.	Gnaw.
11.	擄	Lo,	To rob, to steal.	Loot.
12.	排	Pai,	To settle.	Pay.
13.	謀	Mou,	To devise, consult.	Moot.
14.	賴	Lai,	To lean on, to lie.	Lay, lie, lean.
15.	割	Ko,	To cut.	Gore, cut.
16.	看	Kan,	To see	Ken.
17.	讀	Tu, (Doh)	To read, to study, etc.,	Tutor. Doctor, Doctus.
18.	說	Shuo, (Wo)	To Speak.	A. rt. War, to speak, Word, Verb.
19.	飛	Fei,	To fly.	Flee, fly, flight, etc.,
20.	死	Ssü,	To die.	Cease, decease, Rt. cessus, to yield Cede, cession.
21.	止	Chih,	To stop, to rest.	A. rt. "Ki," to lie, to rest. Cf. Cemetery.
22.	射	Shê,	To shoot an arrow.	Shoot, Middle Eng. "sheten"
23.	矢	Shih,	An arrow.	Cf. shot shuttle, sheet, etc.,
24.	燒	Chao,	To kindle.	Char, charcoal, carbon.
25.	唱	Chang,	To sing.	Chant, canticle, canto.
26.	理	Li,	Reason, right, to manage, etc.,	A. rt. "Ar," to fit, from which "rate, reason," etc.,
27.	爬	Pa,	To scratch.	Paw. Pat.
28.	捕	Pu,	To seize.	
29.	撲	Pu,	To strike, to pat.	
30.	脫	To,	To take off clothes.	Doff, i.e. Do off. Cf. don, dout, dup, etc.,
31.	抖	Tou,	To shake up, to arouse.	Tousle.
32.	罵	Ma, (Mo)	To abuse, to scold.	Heb. "mook" to deride. Mock
33.	鳴	Wu,	To sigh, to lament.	Woe.
34.	飽	Pao,	To eat to fullness.	Gk. "Pao," I feed.
35.	溜	Liu,	To issue forth, to leak.	Rt. Lu, to wash. Leak, Lute, Lutation.

CLASS VII. COMMON ACTIONS—*cont.*

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
36.	訴	Su,	To tell, to inform, to accuse.	Sooth, Sue,
37.	搖	Yu, (Yau)	To scull with a "yuloh."	Yaw, to steer unsteadily, the exact motion of a Chinese boat. Row, Yawl, Yacht.
38.	吆	Yao,	To cry, to hawk goods.	Hawk, and Haw, to call cows, a Dorset provincialism.
39.	擡	Tai,	To carry.	Take.
40.	喳	Cha,	To chirrup, to reply.	Chat.
41.	話	Cha,	To put in one's word.	}
42.	債	Chai,	To owe, to be in debt.	
43.	煮	Hsi,	To boil,	Charge.
44.	呼	Hu,	To call, to invoke.	Seethe. The kettle "sings."
45.	焙	Pei,	To dry with fire.	Hue and cry.
46.	定	Ting,	To fix, settle, decide.	Bake.
47.	訂	Ting,	To criticise, examine.	}
48.	听	Ting,	To hear, listen, obey.	
49.	廷	Ting,	A court, office, hall.	
50.	被	Pei,	To bear, to suffer.	We have Mid. Eng. "Hust-ing," a council. "Ting" in Swedish, means a thing, an assize. Literally. "Hust-ing" is the house of the thing, or council. Cf. The "ridings" of Yorkshire, the Lands thing, and Folke thing of Denmark.
51.	痞	Pi,	Pain.	Pain, Bear. Cf. "Pœ na" a punishment, at first a fine. (The root is not surely known, Skeat.)
52.	拜	Pai,	To bow, to worship.	Obeisance, obey.
53.	革	Ko,	To flay.	Cut.
54.	伐	Fa,	To strike, cut down, destroy.	Cf. "Fendere," to strike. Hence, offence, offend, defend, etc. Kill, in Sanskrit, is "Han." The older A. rt. is "Ghan," to strike, to kill.
55.	煩	Fan,	To trouble.	}
56.	犯	Fan,	To offend.	
57.	惡	O, (Wu)	To hate.	Lat. "Odium," hatred. Cf. Odium theologicum.
58.	認	Niêng,	To know, to recognise.	Know.
59.	拖	To,	To drag, pull, steer.	Tow, as a boat, Tug.
60.	玩	Wan,	To play, to trifle.	}
61.	婉	Wau,	Yielding, complaisant.	
62.	往	Wang,	To go towards.	These two words suggest the two very different meanings of "wanton," as seen in "wanton lambs" and a "wanton woman." The latter in Chinese is "Wan-nü."
63.	違	Wei,	To oppose, to disobey.	Wend, wander.
64.	呼	Hu,	To call, to invoke.	Wayward. (The word has given "much trouble," Skeat.)
65.	歇	Hsieh,	To desist, to stop.	Howl.
				Lat. "Sisto," to stop. Resist, de-sist.

CLASS VII. COMMON ACTIONS—*cont.*

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
66.	惟	Wei,	To consider, to plan.	Cf. To weigh something in the mind.
67.	畏	Wei,	To fear, to dread.	Awe, which was once a dis-syllable.
68.	撈	Pang,	To board a vessel.	Companion ladder.
69.	置	Chih,	To buy.	A.S. "Ceap," price. "Ceapian"
70.	價	Chia,	Value, price.	to cheapen. Dutch, "Koop," a bargain.
71.	賤	Chien,	Mean, low, cheap	Cheap.
72.	拏	Na,	To grasp, to seize.	Nab.
73.	包	Pao,	To wrap up.	Pall, a cloke, mantle.
74.	溜	Liu,	To flow, to issue forth	Sluice.
75.	約	Yo,	To bind, an agreement.	A. rt. "Yu," to bind Cf. Yoke, Join, Justice, that which binds.
76.	撒	Sa,	To scatter, disperse.	A. rt. "Sa," to sow. Cf. sow, strew, scatter, etc.
77.	殺	Sha, Sah,	To cut off the head.	A. rt. "Sak," to cut, cleave, sever. Cf. saw, sickle, scythe, shave.
78.	撥	Po,	To transfer, to send.	Post, Post-boy.

CLASS VIII. COMMON NAME.

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
1.	靴	Hsueh, (Shu)	Boots.	Shoes.
2.	蒲	Bu,	Sandals.	Boots.
3.	箍	Ku,	A hoop, to hoop	Cooper.
4.	色	Shai, (Sê)	Colour.	Shade of a colour.
5.	富	Fu,	Riches.	Feh, prov, Eng. meaning property, money.
6.	爐	Lu,	Fire-place, stove.	Lat. "Luceo," to shine. Lux, lucid, lurid, etc.
7.	戈	Ko,	Lance, spear.	Gore. Old High German, "Ker" a spear.
8.	憂	Yu,	Sorrow, grief.	Yearn.
9.	片	Pien,	A piece of anything.	Piece.
10.	幕	Mu,	A curtain, screen.	Lat. "Murus" a wall Mural.
11.	路	Lu,	A road, lane.	Cf. "Lana" a narrow way between houses and gardens. Lane.
12.	里	Li,	An alley.	Alley.
13.	杯	Pei,	A cup, bowl.	Beaker.
14.	蛤	Ko,	Cockles, clams, oysters.	Cockles. Cock-shells, i.e. snail shells.
15.	叫	Chiao, (Kao)	To call, bid, cause.	Cause.
16.	貝	Pei,	A pearl.	Pearl.
17.	膨	Pêng,	A swelling.	Bunch.

CLASS VIII. COMMON NAME—*cont.*

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
18.	蓬	Pêng,	A sort of flag.	Pennon.
19.	屋	Wu,	A room.	Lat. "Rus," a room.
20.	俘	Fu,	A captive.	Foe.
21.	部	Bu,	A complete work in volumes.	Book.
22.	尸	Shih, (Shir)	A corpse.	Shroud.
23.	林	Lin,	A forest.	Lund, a sacred grove. Cf. Lundy I.
24.	陸	Lu,	Dry land.	Water-loo.
25.	壘	Lei,	A wall, rampart.	} Cf. Gadhelic, "Lis" an earthen fort, as in Lismore, Listowel, and many other places.
26.	磊	Lei,	Rocks, or stones piled up	
27.	崗	Kang,	A ridge, summit.	Prov. Eng. "Cam," a ridge Camber.
28.	窪	Wa,	A swamp.	Wake, wet.
29.	櫓	Lu, (Loh)	An oar, scull.	Row.
30.	啼	Ti,	To cry, to weep.	} Tears. Norse, "Toirn," a tear. Tarn, "a tear on the face of a hill."
31.	滴	Ti,	To drip, drop.	
32.	糕	Kao,	Cake.	Lat. "conquere," to cook. Swedish, "Kaka," a cake.
33.	油	Yu,	Oil, grease, fat.	Gothic, "Alew," oleum, oil, etc.,
34.	幅	Fu,	A roll.	Volume. Lat. Volvo, roll, turn.
35.	担	Tan,	A picul, 133 $\frac{1}{3}$ lbs.	One small line marks the difference between these two characters.
36.	石	Shih,	A stone, a measure.	There is a stone weight in Eng. Our <i>ton</i> and <i>tun</i> are the same word the former for weight, the latter for capacity.
37.	渠	Chü,	A drain, a gutter.	Sewer, sough,
38.	纜	Lan,	A chord, rope.	Fr. Lanière, Eng. Lanyard.
39.	仙	Hsien,	A fairy.	Banshee, Pixie, Nexie.

CLASS XI. RELATIONAL WORKS.

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
1.	何	Ho,	Who? what? which? who? in what way? why?	The Eng. "who" was origin- ally interrogative only. It was also allied to why, whe-n, whi-ch, whi-ther, etc., just as the single Chinese word is.

CLASS XI. RELATIONAL WORDS—*cont.*

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
2.	伊	E,	He, She, it.	<p>Cf. Lat "is, ea, id," and the Eng. "he." A. rt. "Ta, 'he, that. "That" in Eng. is "That," the final letter being a mark of the neuter gender. (Skeat) In Sanskrit, "tat," in G k. "To." Thence there, thus, etc. are allied. "Ta" denotes an Agent. Cf. our ending, "Tor," ter, as in Actor, Baxter. Sanskrit, "Ya," who. Too.</p>
3.	他	Ta,	He.	
4.	哈	Sa,	Who, what,	
5.	太	Tai, (Teh)	Too, large, excessive.	<p>A. rt. "As," to be. Note the sibilant sound as in Esse, Sum, Es, Est, and, the Eng. "is."</p>
6.	是	Shih, (Sz)	The verb "to be."	
7.	内	Nei,	Inside,	
8.	迺	Nai,	At, in.	<p>Nigh, near, neighbour. Fey, fated to die. Fond, meaning foolish. Cf.—ling, our diminutive, as in duckling.</p>
9.	癘	Fei,	Incurable.	
10.	瘋	Fêng,	Insane.	
11.	零	Ling,	Fractional.	<p>Sound, to find depth. Sound, sonorous, sonant. Whole, heal, health.</p>
12.	深	Sung,	Deep.	
13.	聲	Shêng,	Sound, noise,	
14.	圖	Hu,	Whole, entire.	<p>A. rt. "Tu" to swell to increase. Cf. Swed. dialect, "dog," very, and the Eng. "dog-cheap." A.S. "Sund," a sound, so called because it could be swum. Peavish. A. rt. "Ki," quick. Cf. hie.</p>
15.	多	To,	Very, much, more, many.	
16.	洄	Siu, T'siu	To swim.	
17.	疲	Pi,	Tired, exhausted.	<p>Could. "Or" to-day, "or" to-morrow.</p>
18.	快	Kuai, (Kuei)	Quick, fast.	
19.	可	Ko,	can, able to.	
20.	或	O (Huo)	Or, (Used as in Eng.)	<p>As in "The first," etc. Lat. "Paucus" few. Paucity. A. rt. "Au," to be satisfied with. Cf. audit, audience. Lee, the sheltered side. Yon, Yonder. Fa-tigue. ("Root uncertain." Skeat.</p>
21.	第	Ti,	The.	
22.	薄	Pao,	Few, rare.	
23.	第	Ao,	An expression of agreement	<p>And (?) Drop the "p," and we have the feminine affix as in "heroine, Kaiserin," etc., Lat. "Se," Eng. self. Murk.</p>
24.	裡	Li,	Inside.	
25.	遙	Yao,	Remote, distant, far.	
26.	乏	Fa,	Weariness, fatigued.	
27.	和	Han,	With, in relation with.	
28.	牝	P'in,	The female of animals.	
29.	已	Chi,	One's self, private.	
30.	暮	Mu,	Evening, night.	

CLASS XI. RELATIONAL WORDS—*cont.*

No.	Ch.	Roman.	Meaning.	Suggested cognates.
31.	速	Su,	Quick, haste, promptly,	Soon.
32.	嗣	Ssu,	To succeed, to follow.	Sequence.
33.	非	Fei,	Wrong, false, low.	Vile, vice.
34.	先	Sien,	Before.	Senior.
35.	儼	Lei,	Idle, sickly, lazy.	Lazy.
36.	攬	Lan,	To hoard up, to grasp.	Of "loan" Skeat says, "There was, no doubt, also a form 'lan'." Cf. lend.
37.	婪	Lan,	Covetous, greedy, extortionate.	
38.	縷	Lien,	Connected fast together,	Lat. ligare, to tie. Lien, a right to hold.
39.	連	Lien,	To connect.	Link. (?)
40.	下	Hsia,	Below, under, down.	Welsh, "Issa," lower, found in other forms, "Is, Ys, Dis."
41.	冗	Jung,	Odds and ends.	Junk, with a similar meaning, though properly meaning bits of old ropes. Lat. Juncus, a rush.
42.	彎	Wan,	Curved, bending.	Winding.
43.	細	Hsi,	Fine, small, minute.	Sift. sieve. Etymology doubtful.
44.	都	Tu,	All.	Fr. "Tout." Total.
45.	微	Wei,	Trifling, minute, small.	Wee.
46.	古	Ku,	Old. (Therefore familiar.)	Cf. Unco, uncouth, lit. "unknown." Prov. Eng. "unkid" strange, unusual.
47.	敖	Ao,	Proud, haughty, uncivil.	Haughty, connected with "Altus" high; in Chinese "Kao."
48.	豪	Hao,	Brave, heroic, martial.	

INTRODUCTION TO THE BUDDHIST LIBRARY OF HUEN CHWANG.

BY THE EMPEROR TAI TSUNG A.D. 627-649.

We have heard how invisible Yin and Yang are represented by the visible sun and moon, they brood over and produce all life. The four seasons though themselves unseen by the action of heat and cold produce all growth. By looking to heaven above and earth beneath even the most ignorant know this influence of Yin and Yang. But the wisest cannot explain them fully. By what we see it is easy to know that there are these forces. They cannot be fully understood, because they are invisible. But their influence is known by what is visible. Even the ignorant have no doubt about them. As to the invisible, even the intelligent cannot explain it. Such being the truth about nature, how much more so is it in regard to the Buddhist religion, which discusses the unseen, the mysterious and the immoveable, to save all beings and make it known everywhere. Its majesty and power are unsurpassed. Its Divine power descends to all things, and is so great as to pervade the universe, yet is manifest in the smallest atom, without beginning or end. Even after a thousand kalpas, it is still new, whether hidden or manifest; it overflows in all blessings, everpresent. The Doctrine is mysterious, bound up with profundity—even those who follow it find it limitless. The law flows near by, but none can tell its origin.

Therefore those whose knowledge is confused, small and deficient, how can they discover its excellence without a doubt? The rise of this great religion was in the West: it spread in the Han dynasty through the Emperor's dream, and shone to the Eastern lands, and Buddha's merciful doctrine flowed over here. When living on earth before his doctrine had spread far, he had already influenced many. During his life, they looked up to his virtue, when his life faded away and he returned to God, his golden face was invisible, and no more reflected the light of the universe to men. His beautiful form and image were now invisible, but were remembered in thirty-two different aspects. Thus his few words spread far to save all beings from the three paths, (hell,

demons and animals) his teaching spread far to lead all living beings to the ten perfect states of joy.

But the true religion is not easily appreciated, so that all may follow it. Heretical religion is easily followed, and thus the true and false are confounded together. Therefore in the discussions of the seen and the unseen, and about right and wrong, they suddenly decide according to the times and they flourish or decay.

Huen Chwang, the Teacher of the Law, was a leader among the Buddhists. In his youth he was very intelligent, and knew the vanity of the world. When grown up, he knew the mind and character of Buddha, as the root of kind deeds more responsive than the line to the wind, and clearer than the moon in the water, brighter than gems and pearls of dew. Therefore his knowledge was thorough about all things, his mind transcended the visible and was free from human passions, a man in all the past without equal. He devoted his mind to the core of things and mourned over the decay of right religion. Thinking over its profound doctrines, and the errors of the translated Scriptures, he desired to explain their chief principles and make them known putting away the erroneous, and adding the true for the benefit of students, therefore his mind flew to the Pure Land and he travelled to the West. The journey was difficult and far, leaning on his staff he went alone. In the morning the snow filled the tracks, so that it was difficult to see the way. In the evening the desert sand darkened the sky. For ten thousand li he travelled, pushing through the clouds, enduring both heat and cold, he passed on through frost and rain. As his earnestness was great, he regarded his troubles light. As his purpose was deep and far-reaching, he travelled everywhere for seventeen years. He visited every noted place in search of the correct Doctrine—the two Forests and the Eight Rivers to find out their teachings and customs—the wonderful Deer Park and Eagle Peak he also saw. Thus he got the best teachings of Buddha from the leading priests. He discussed the deep philosophy of Buddha and its distinct fruit. The One Doctrine of the Five Commandments he was full master of. The Eight Collections and the Three Precepts (Tripitaka?) bubbled up like waves from his lips. From all countries which he visited, he collected 657 of the most important works of the Three Collections, (Classics, Canons and Discourses) and translated them for circulation in China, in order to make known their great value, leading the clouds of the West to fall as good rain in the East. Thus the deficiencies of the famous religion were now made up to perfection, and the sins of the people were exchanged for happiness, with water to extinguish the burning house, all are saved from danger; the dark and troubled waves of desire are lit up with light, so that all may safely reach the other shore. Thus we know that we fall because of our evil ways and rise because of our good. Men's

rise and fall depend on themselves. Like the cinnamon flower that grows on the mountains where it receives the clouds and dew of heaven, and like the lotus flower that grows in the clear water where there is no dust to defile its leaves. This is not because the lotus in itself is purer or the cinnamon in itself is superior, it is because they are in a better position. The cinnamon, owing to its position cannot be matched—the lotus, owing to its pure water, cannot be defiled. The vegetable kingdom, though ignorant, knows the value of good conditions, and thereby attains excellence: how much more should intelligent man seek that which will produce blessings. So I hope these Scriptures will be circulated everywhere, and be permanent as the sun, moon and stars. I hope the blessings will be extensive as the wide world.

This preface was engraved on a stone in A. D. 653 at the Ta Yen Ta 8 li south of Sinanfu in Shensi.

COINS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

DR. GIUSEPPE ROS.

The following is a list of coins collected after the proclamation of the republican regime, partly in Shanghai and partly, through the kindness of friends, in different parts of China.

With a few exceptions, all the coins described are to be found in circulation : but this in no way means that they are all to be commonly met with. Some specimens in fact can be secured only after a careful inspection of tens of thousands of pieces—the relative rarity varying, however, as it is obvious, in different localities.

It is somewhat difficult for me to explain the scarcity of collectors of modern Chinese coins, compared with the number of lovers of knife and spade coins and old square-holed cash. It seems to me that very few collectors realise that the common coins of to-day may for some reason or other become the rarities of to-morrow, and my rather lengthy experience in coin hunting has shown me that some varieties of silver pieces or bronze cents which, seven or eight years ago were common enough, and could be picked up with little or no difficulty, have altogether disappeared at present from circulation.

A large literature exists in Chinese on the subject of old coins, but, to my knowledge, not a single pamphlet by any native writer has yet been published concerning the modern coinage. In European languages too the latter cannot boast any valuable and exhaustive publication ; and the numerous and interesting issues of the Republic of China have failed so far to secure from foreign numismatists, the attention they deserve.

Sir JAMES H. STEWART LOCKHART'S catalogue ⁽¹⁾, including copper, bronze and brass coins, reproduces only a few republican pieces. *The Numismatic and Philatelic Journal of Japan* (1912-14) has occasionally given notices of contemporary Chinese issues ; some of the dollars have been illustrated in *The Numismatist*, the official organ of the American Numismatic Society ; and lastly a rather meagre article on the "copper"

⁽¹⁾ *The Stewart Lockhart Collection of Chinese Copper Coins*, Shanghai, 1915. Nos. 2053-2067.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- p. 129, last line : *for* 10- and 20-cent *read* 10- and 20-cash.
- p. 136, No. 84, *Rev.* : *for* "Made in Hunan Province" *read* "Made in Honan Province."
- p. 137, No. 91, *Rev.* : *to* 貳 *substitute* 貳.
- p. 138, No. 96, *Obr.* : *add* Date : (A.H.) 1331.
- p. 139, No. 99, *Obr.* : *add* Date : (A.H.) 1331.
- p. 144, note (2) : *for* 72 candareens *read* 7.2 candareens.

coinage of the Chinese Republic, from the pen of the late Mr. H. A. Ramsden, appeared in *Mehl's Numismatic Monthly* for May, 1915.

In publishing this paper I have to express my great indebtedness for valuable suggestions to Mr. J. Klubien, of the Chinese Customs Service, an enthusiastic collector of modern Chinese coins; to Dr. V. Chieri, of the Chinese Postal Administration, for most of the Szechwan pieces; and to Mr. L. Giorgi, the chief engraver of the Head Mint of China in Tientsin, a gifted artist by whom the dies for the most beautiful coins ever issued in this country were prepared, and who has kindly presented me with a few of his patterns and trial coins, which are too interesting to be omitted in my list.

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No changes were introduced in the monetary system of China with the advent of the Republic. Not that the new government was not awake to the necessity of a reform; but confronted as it was in its early days with more serious problems, any innovation concerning currency had to be left in abeyance⁽¹⁾.

The issue of "dragon" dollars was continued in the first half of 1912 from various mints: the Nanking mint, for example, turned out Kiangnan dollars of inferior quality⁽²⁾, while that of Wuchang was employing the die of the Hsüan-t'ung "National Currency" dollar. But soon afterwards coins with new devices began to appear: these being the 開國紀念 dollars, some bearing the portrait of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and some of General Li Yüan-hung; and the one with the large 漢 on its obverse, issued by the Szechwan Military Government.

With the exception of the latter, however, all these new pieces were not minted in sufficient quantities to meet the requirements of the market, and they never became popular as currency, being, as it were, collected and kept as souvenirs rather than used as a medium of exchange. The same happened to a rarer commemorative coin (共和紀念幣) issued in 1914 from the Tientsin mint; so that no republican dollar was in full circulation in the country before the appearance of the well known Yüan Shih-k'ai piece of the third year of the Republic, which was produced in large

(1) In a telegram sent to the directors of the various mints, the Ministry of Finance of the Nanking Provisional Government (see 臨時政府公報, No. 35, March 11th, 1912; also in 中華民國臨時政府新法令, No. 7, April 1912) after hinting at the advantages of a gold standard or a joint standard, and asserting on the other hand the impossibility of adopting one of these without a sufficient gold reserve at hand, concludes by admitting the advisability of adhering for the moment to the old rules, changing only the devices on the coins to be issued, according to new sets of dies then in preparation.

(2) An essay made in Shanghai in 1912 by Dr. L. Silva, on account of a foreign Bank revealed the fact that the fineness of these coins was 86.42‰, against 90‰ of the older issues.

quantities in all the government mints, from dies prepared by Giorgi at Tientsin, and distributed by the Ministry of Finance.

As to subsidiary silver coins, the northern and central provinces were kept well supplied with "Manchurian Provinces" 20-cent pieces (1 mace and 4.4 candareens), both of the Kuang-hsü and Hsüan-t'ung years⁽¹⁾; and generally speaking even now no extensive minting of small republican coins has yet taken place. I must however mention the issue in the first year of the Republic of 50-, 20-, and 10-cent pieces (五角, 二角, 一角) from the Chengtu mint, subsidiary to the Szechwan Military Government dollar; the two varieties of Fukien 20-cents (1 mace and 4.4 candareens), one dated 1911-12 (辛亥), the other undated; the issues of Kwangtung 20-cents (貳毫) which began in 1912 and continued in the following years; those of 10-cent pieces (壹毫) of the same province, dated second and third year of the Republic; and lastly the three subsidiary pieces (中圓, 貳角, 壹角) to the Yüan Shih-k'ai dollar of the third year of the Republic, which have only lately come out from the Tientsin mint. No 5-cent pieces, so far as I know, have been issued from any of the government mints since the establishment of the Republic.

Concerning the bronze and brass coinage I will be as brief as possible in this introductory resumé.

It is well known that a plethora of bronze token coins has greatly afflicted China since the various provincial mints, with the sole object of realizing enormous profits, had begun to flood the market with quantities of 10-cash pieces quite disproportionate to its exigencies. Circumstances of various nature led the new government to continue this malpractice, and commemorative 10-cash pieces of many patterns were turned out, heap after heap, from the Wuchang and Nanking mints. From the latter establishment large consignments of the new coins were sent to Shanghai, upsetting the market there still further⁽²⁾. These commemorative pieces, one variety of which up to last year has been extensively minted in Wuchang, were followed by others for general use, bearing on their obverse the "Chia-ho," emblem of agriculture considered as the foundation of the country's prosperity. Changsha was particularly active in the output of these latter coins, to which it

(1) A curious issue of much debased pieces, coarse imitations of some of these "Manchurian Provinces" coins, but with the legend 山西省造, took place in Taiyuanfu soon after the revolution, I am told, under the official sanction of the Shansi Tutuh. For this reason, though bearing the Hsüan-t'ung *nien-hao*, I have included these pieces among the republican issues.

(2) See *Report of the Committee of the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce*, 1912, pp. 132/143; and 1914, pp. 123/143. On examination of 10,000 coins, 1,140 republican pieces were found in July 1913, and their number had increased to 4,270 after less than one year; in May 1914. The percentage of pure copper was found to be in these new coins 91.68 in 1913, and 88.08 in 1914.

added some 20-cash pieces intended for circulation in Hunan only, but which became somewhat popular last year also in the adjoining province of Hupeh.⁽¹⁾

Previous to this issue of Chia-ho coins, 10-cash pieces for special circulation in the province where they were minted had appeared in Kiangsi and Hunan, with the nine-pointed republican star on their obverse; also in Fukien, where old fashioned cast coins of one and two cash values were likewise issued; and yet again in Honan, some time before the definite closing of the Kaifeng mint, in November 1914.

For its bronze coinage, consisting exclusively of one cent (壹仙) pieces, the Kwangtung mint took apparently as pattern—as it had done for the 20-cent silver piece—the Straits Settlements coin of the same value, reintroducing the denomination “one cent” which had been already once adopted under the Manchus for the issue of 1900, but which had been soon afterwards discarded. From the first to the third year of the Republic the coins were struck in bronze, but at this period some brass pieces began to appear, and the following issues were made, as far as I have been able to ascertain, almost exclusively of brass coins.

However, the province where the greatest variety of bronze—or rather brass—pieces was put in circulation was Szechwan, where the Military Government with the two mints of Chengtu and Chungking at its disposal was able to overrun the market with 50-, and 20-cash coins, issuing at the same time not a few tokens of such high nominal values as 200 and 100 cash, as well as a number of 10-cash pieces of an intrinsic value much below that of the provincial bronze 10-cash of the old regime. Apart from the number of denominations of which it consists, the Szechwan Military Government coinage is remarkable also for the many differences which are to be noticed between pieces of the same value and bearing the same date: this being due not only to the fact that sets of dies not identical were being used at Chengtu and Chungking, but also to different dies having been evidently engraved both for the obverses and reverses of a same issue.

(1) The Director of the Wuchang mint, having at that time discovered that by reason of the high price of copper it would have been more profitable for his establishment to turn out 20-cash pieces rather than 10-cash, was preparing to follow the example of his Changsha colleague; but his plans were not approved by the Ministry of Finance. I have been told that dies for the purpose had been already engraved. Quite recently however (April, 1917) the Wuchang mint has begun the issue of 20-cash pieces from old Hu-poo dies which it had never used before. These are of the same design as the die engraved in Osaka in 1903 for the Tientsin mint, when a tael coin with subsidiary pieces was to be put in circulation; but the diameter is 32 mm., while the Osaka die was for 31.8 mm. coins. The Hu-poo pieces formerly issued (RAMSDEN, *Modern Chinese Copper Coins*, figs. 37 and 38; STEWART LOCKHART, No. 2004) are of a different pattern.

If we except the 1-, and 2-cash Fukien coins mentioned above, no issue has taken place so far of pieces of an inferior nominal value than ten cash. In 1915 dies had been engraved in the Wuchang mint for turning out 5-cash pieces of the 開國紀念 series: but it was found that an issue of these coins would have entailed considerable loss to the mint and it was never authorized by the Ministry of Finance. However, coins of the 5-cash denomination are now being minted in Tientsin, to be issued together with new 1-, and 2-cent pieces. The Head Mint in Tientsin had under consideration in 1913 an issue of very neat iron 1-cash coins: but only a few sample pieces were struck, which were never put in circulation.

Very scanty information has reached me from Chinese Turkestan concerning the republican issues of that far distant province. It seems unlikely that these were plentiful, since sometime after the change of regime silver became extremely scarce there, when a large quantity of paper money (*kuan-p'iao*) was put in circulation. However, it is almost certain that my collection does not include all the silver denominations eventually issued, those represented in my list being only the tael and the 5-mace, while 4-, 3-, 2-, and 1-mace pieces seem to constitute an essential part of the Turkestan coinage. Of bronze pieces there are 20-, 10-, and 5-cash varieties. Owing to the scarcity of copper and silver, no coins have been minted at Urumtsi (Tihwafu) since 1913.

I have classified the coins to be described, according to the following plan:

I—COMMEMORATIVE SERIES:

- A.) In commemoration of the Revolution (開國紀念幣).
- B.) In commemoration of the Republic (共和紀念幣).

II—PROVINCIAL ISSUES:

- A.) Fukien.
- B.) Kiangsi.
- C.) Szechwan.
- D.) Kwangtung.
- E.) Hunan.
- F.) Honan.
- G.) Shansi.
- H.) Sinkiang.

III—COINS FOR GENERAL USE IN THE REPUBLIC.

APPENDIX:

Hung-hsien issues.

COINS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

I.—COMMEMORATIVE SERIES.

A) IN COMMEMORATION OF THE REVOLUTION (開國紀念幣).

1. **Dollar.** Silver; diam., mm. 39.3; edge, milled.

Obv.—Portrait of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in profile to the left, within a linear and beaded circle. Above: 中華民國, "The Republic of China"; below: 開國紀念幣, "Coin commemorative of the change of regime"; right and left, a branch of peach blossom.

Rev.—Within a linear and beaded circle an open wreath of rice and bean, enclosing the characters 壹圓, "One Dollar." Around the circle the legend * MEMENTO * BIRTH OF REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

Chinese legend in *ku-t'i* character. The character 民 appears on this, as well as on many other republican coins, in the form which became fashionable after the establishment of the Republic, viz. with the last stroke projecting (民). This is explained as symbolizing the triumph of democracy (the people raising their head) through the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the proclamation of a popular form of government.

2. **The same,** struck in gold.

3. **Twenty cents.** Silver; diam., mm. 23; edge, milled.

Obv.—Head of Dr. Sun Yat-sen taken from the bust on obv. of No. 1. Around, the legend * MEMENTO * BIRTH OF REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

Rev.—The military and national flags of the Republic, within a beaded circle. Around the circle, Chinese legend (in *k'ai-shu* character) as on obv. of No. 1.

The size of this piece, which does not bear any indication of value, is that of a 20-cent coin. There is no doubt that it was issued as a coin, as the Chinese legend on the reverse shows; but apparently very few specimens were struck, these being distributed among officials, and never put in circulation.

4. **The same,** struck in gold.

NOTE.—I have invariably styled reverse of a coin the side bearing the indication of its value in Chinese; and obverse the opposite side. It thus happens that in many cases my obverses are to be found described as reverses by RAMSDEN and STEWART LOCKHART; and vice versa.

No importance I have attached to the relative position of obverse and reverse, on which RAMSDEN laid so much stress as to make different varieties (which he termed "irregular" or "inverse") of the specimens in which they appear situated head to tail. Specimens occur of almost every coin, with reverse placed in respect to the obverse in every possible position, this being due to the way in which the dies have been adjusted on the coining press. It is to be understood that the normal position of obverse and reverse on Chinese coins is of head to head.

The diameters of the coins are given in millimeters and fractions thereof, which fractions however I am only able to give approximately. I have also to mention that occasionally, coins of a same variety appear with diameters varying to the extent of a millimeter.

5. **Dollar.** Silver ; diam., mm. 39.3 ; edge, milled.

Obv.—Same as No. 1.

Rev.—Same as No. 1, the legend in English being, however, changed into THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA * ONE DOLLAR *.

6. **Dollar.** Silver ; diam., mm. 39.5 ; edge, milled.

Obv.—Portrait of General Li Yüan-hung in military uniform, within a beaded circle. Chinese legend same as on *obv.* of No. 1 but in *k'ai-shu* character. Branches of peach blossom right and left.

Rev.—Same design as No. 5 within single beaded circle. 壹圓 in *k'ai-shu* character. Legend around the circle THE REPUBLIC OF (sic) CHINA * ONE DOLLAR *.

7. **Dollar.** Silver ; diam., mm. 39.5 ; edge, milled.

Obv.—From same die as preceding.

Rev.—From same die as preceding, but without error OE, the necessary correction of E into F having been made on the master die.

A very few specimens of this coin are found with the middle bar of the H of CHINA missing. These were evidently struck from a die obtained from some defective hub, and cannot be considered as representing a separate variety.

8. **Dollar.** Silver ; diam., mm. 39.5 ; edge, milled.

Obv.—Portrait of General Li Yüan-hung, wearing a different military uniform and no cap ; legend and blossom as on No. 6.

Rev.—Same as No. 7. On some specimens the middle bar of the H is not at right angle.

Generally—though erroneously—known as Yüan Shih-k'ai's dollar.

Nos. 1-5 were minted in Nanking in 1912. The dies were engraved, I am told, by the chief engraver of the Nanking mint, 何子樑 Ho Tzŭ-liang and his assistants. I have been unable to secure reliable data as to the output for each variety. Nos. 2 and 4 are very rare, only a few pieces having been struck for presentation to Dr. Sun's entourage. Nos. 6-8 were minted in Wuchang, from dies engraved by one 朱子芳 Chu Tzŭ-fang. Particulars about the number of pieces issued could not be procured. No. 7 is not very common, and No. 6 is especially scarce.

From an artistic point of view the coins so far described are not brilliant specimens, those of Dr. Sun Yat-sen being the best executed, though the portrait they bear is a complete failure. But we have to take into consideration the fact that the Chinese have never had any experience in portrait engraving, the only one produced by them previous to these issues being the one purporting to be Kuang-hsü, on the Szechwan rupee and its subsidiary pieces. I have been told that many years ago the Kwangtung mint was preparing an issue of dollars bearing the portrait of the Liang-Kwang Viceroy : but the attempt had to be given up, as no artist was found able to meet even the expectations of the Director of the mint.

9. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Military and national flags of the Chinese Republic in centre. Above: 中華民國, "The Republic of China"; below: 開國紀念幣, "Coin commemorative of the change of regime"; right and left, a floral ornament.

Rev.—Open wreath of rice and bean within linear and beaded circle. Value 十文, "Ten cash", in centre. Around the circle, legend THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA * TEN CASH *

Chinese in *ku-t'i* character.

10. **The same**, struck in brass.
11. **Ten cash**. Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Same as No. 9, but Chinese legend in larger characters, and written in a different hand. Floral ornament less elaborate.
Rev.—Same as No. 9.
12. **Ten cash**. Bronze ; diam., mm. 28.9 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Same as No. 11.
Rev.—Similar to No. 9, but with slight differences. Legend THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA * TEN * CASH *
 Some specimens struck from defective dies have CASH for CASH.
13. **Ten cash**. Bronze ; diam., mm. 28.9 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Same as No. 11.
Rev.—Similar to No. 9, but with slight differences. Legend THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA * TEN CASH *.
14. **Ten cash**. Bronze ; diam., mm. 28.9 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Same as No. 11.
Rev.—Same as preceding, but stars dividing the English legend slightly differently shaped.
15. **Ten cash**. Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Same as No. 9, but the design of the floral ornament is more simple.
Rev.—Wreath enclosing the characters 十文 within a single linear circle. Dots instead of stars on both sides of TEN CASH.
16. **Ten cash**. Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Same as preceding.
Rev.—Same as No. 9.
17. **Ten cash**. Bronze ; diam., mm. 28.1 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Military and national flags enclosed in a beaded circle. Chinese legend same as on obv. of preceding coins, but in *k'ai-shu* character. Small five-pointed star right and left.
Rev.—Wreath and Chinese value as on preceding coins, enclosed in a linear circle. Smaller English legend, the upper and lower part being separated by minute four-leaved rosettes.
 RAMSDEN says that "various dies are to be met with, but all showing but slight differences." I have only remarked that some pieces have the last stroke of the character 中 in a line with the space between two beads of the circle enclosing the flags, whereas others have it in a line with a bead. The letter R in the English legend is also slightly differently shaped on some specimens.
18. **Ten cash**. Bronze ; diam., mm. 28.6 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—As preceding, but the design of the military flag brought out more accurately by the addition of incused lines representing its foldings.
Rev.—As preceding.

19. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28.6 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Same as No. 18, but the ensign on the military flag is in relief instead of being incused, the coin thus acquiring a much finer appearance.

Rev.—As No. 17.

20. **Five cash.** Bronze ; diam., approx. mm. 23 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Same as No. 17, but of smaller dimensions.

Rev.—Same as No. 17, but of smaller dimensions. Chinese value 五文, "Five cash", and English legend THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA + 5 CASH +

Nos. 9-16 were issued from the Nanking mint. No. 11, a "mule" resulting from the obv. of No. 12 and the rev. of No. 9, is very seldom met with, and the same is the case with No. 16 (obv. of No. 15 with rev. of No. 9). Nos. 17-19 are products of the Wuchang mint, and No. 20 is the coin the issue of which was not approved by the Ministry of Finance, as I have mentioned in the introduction. No piece was actually struck of it, the illustration being taken from lead impressions which were kindly presented to me by Mr. Ts'ai K'ang (蔡康), the former director of the Wuchang mint.

B) IN COMMEMORATION OF THE REPUBLIC (共和紀念幣).

21. **Dollar.** Silver (gr. 26.04, 90°/c fine) ; diam., mm. 39 ; edge, milled.

Obv.—Portrait of Yüan Shih-k'ai in full military uniform.

Rev.—Within a beaded circle an open wreath of barley enclosing the characters 壹圓, "One dollar". Above, the legend 中華民國共和紀念幣, "The Republic of China—Coin commemorative of the Republic". Below, in English, ONE DOLLAR. Rosette right and left.

Only 20,000 pieces issued in 1914. A specimen in my collection has the name of the engraver, L. Giorgi, in relief, near Yüan Shih-k'ai's left shoulder. On the pieces put in circulation there is no such name. This is—if we except the dollar of the third year Hsüan-t'ung, due to the same artist—the first coin of some real artistic value that has appeared in China. Mr. L. Giorgi, who was formerly connected with the well known establishment Samuel Johnson, of Milan, was engaged in 1910 as chief engraver in the Central Mint of Tientsin (now styled the Head Mint of China).

22. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Two national flags in centre. Floral design right and left. Above: 中華民國, "The Republic of China"; below: 共和紀念幣, "Coin commemorative of the Republic".

Rev.—十文 within an open wreath of barley, and below TEN CASH.

This fine coin is also by Giorgi, whose name appears on the rev. of the specimen in my collection. It is only a pattern, the issue which was being contemplated at the Tientsin mint having never taken place.

23. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Portrait of Yüan Shih-k'ai in full military uniform, evidently copied with poor results from the obv. of No. 21.

Rev.—十文 within a wreath of rice leaves and ears. Legend in Chinese: 共和紀念, "Souvenir of the Republic".

24. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Portrait of Yüan Shih-k'ai in full military uniform, slightly better executed than the preceding.

Rev.—As preceding with slight differences in the design of the wreath, and Chinese legend in larger characters.

The last two coins are samples from the Wuchang mint, where an issue of them was being prepared, but was suspended after the departure of the then Vice-President Li for Peking. The die for No. 23 was engraved by 王少賢 Wang Shao-hsien, and that for No. 24 by 朱子芳 Chu Tzū-fang. Of the latter a few specimens were stamped and presented to officials, but the former was not approved, owing, I was told, to the disproportion in the size of the decoration worn by Yüan Shih-k'ai.

II.—PROVINCIAL ISSUES.

A) FUKIEN

25. **1 mace and 4·4 candareens.** Silver ; diam., mm. 23 ; edge, milled.

Obv.—Nine-pointed star with character 閩 (literary name for Fukien) in centre. Around, the legend * FOO-KIEN * 1 MACE AND 4·4 CANDAREENS.

Rev.—中華元寶, "Currency of China", with character 閩 in centre. Beaded circle enclosing this legend ; and around : 福建都督府造, "Made in the bureau of the Fukien Tutuh" (above) ; 辛亥, "Year *hsin-hai*" (right and left) ; and 庫平一錢四分四釐, "One ch'ien, four fên, four li, official weight" (below).

This is apparently the earliest coin issued with republican devices. The year 辛亥 *hsin-hai* expired on February 17th, 1912.

26. **1 mace and 4·4 candareens.** Silver ; diam., mm. 23.3 ; edge, milled.

Obv.—Group of military, national and naval flags in centre. Around, the legend MADE IN FOO-KIEN MINT * 1 MACE AND 4·4 CANDAREENS *.

Rev.—中華元寶, "Currency of China", with 12-pointed star in centre. Beaded circle enclosing this legend ; and around : 福建銀幣廠造, "Made in the silver mint of Fukien" (above) ; and 庫平一錢四分四釐, "One ch'ien, four fên, four li, official weight" (below). Small five-pointed star right and left.

27. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 27.9 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Group of flags as on preceding coin. Around, FOO-KIEN COPPER COIN * TEN CASH *.

Rev.—Legend within the beaded circle same as on preceding coin. Around the circle : 福建銅幣廠造, "Made in the copper mint of Fukien" (above) ; and 每枚當錢十文, "Each piece has the value of ten cash" (below). Small five-pointed star right and left.

28. **Two cash.** Brass ; diam., approx. mm. 24.

Obv.—福建通寶, "Currency of Fukien."

Rev.—Right and left, national and military flags of the Republic ; above and below the characters 二文, "Two cash."

29. **Two cash.** Brass ; diam., approx. mm. 24.

Obv.—Similar to preceding but for small differences in the form of the characters of the legend.

Rev.—Slightly different from preceding.

The characters right and left of the central hole on the *obv.* of this coin are written 通寶; on the *obv.* of No. 28 they appear under the form 通寶



Fig. 30

30. **One cash.** Brass ; diam., approx. mm. 20.

Obv.—Similar to No. 29 but of smaller dimensions and slight differences.

Rev.—Similar to No. 29 but of smaller dimensions and slight differences. Value 一文, "One cash."

I have been unable to secure a specimen of this coin. I describe it after RAMSDEN'S notice in *Mehl's Numismatic Monthly*, (May, 1915), from which the illustration is taken.

Nos. 28-30 are cast coins with round central hole.

B) KIANGSI.

31. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28.3 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Nine-pointed star within a beaded circle. Above, KIANG-SEE ; below, TEN CASH. Small five-leaved rosette right and left.

Rev.—大漢銅幣, "Ta-Han copper coin" within beaded circle. Six-leaved rosette in centre. Above: 江西省造, "Made in Kiangsi Province"; below: 當制錢十文, "Equal to ten standard cash". Date 壬子, "Year jên-tzū", right and left.

32. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28.3 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Similar to preceding but for slight differences, the most noticeable being the way in which the word CASH is engraved.

Rev.—From same die as preceding.

Ta-Han is on these coins for China, the national dynasty of the Han being considered by the Chinese as the most glorious which ever ruled their country. 興漢 was the motto appearing on badges and flags in the early days of the revolution which resulted in the proclamation of the Republic. It is interesting to find such designation on coins struck some time after the new government had officially adopted the name of 中華民國. The year jên-tzū commenced on the February 18th, 1912, and closed on February 5th, 1913.

The coins Nos. 31 and 32 are very scarce pieces, the most difficult perhaps to secure of all other republican issues.

33. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.*Obv.*—Same as No. 31.*Rev.*—江西銅幣, "Copper coin of Kiangsi" within beaded circle. Six-leaved rosette in centre. Above: 中華民國, "The Republic of China"; below: 當十, "Equal to ten"; right and left: 壬子, "Year *jên-tzŭ*".34. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28.3 ; edge, plain.*Obv.*—Same as No. 31.*Rev.*—Similar to No. 33, but legend within beaded circle in larger characters, and central rosette smaller.35. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.*Obv.*—Same as No. 32.*Rev.*—Same as No. 33.36. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.*Obv.*—Slightly different from both Nos. 31 and 32. The small rosettes right and left are six-leaved.*Rev.*—Similar to No. 34 with slight differences.37. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.*Obv.*—As preceding, but the disc in centre of the star is of a smaller diameter.*Rev.*—Same as preceding.

There are many other slightly different varieties of the above coins (Nos. 33-37), which it is impossible to describe properly, the differences being so minute as to be detected only by careful observation of actual specimens.

C) SZECHWAN.

GENERAL REMARKS.—With the exception of the 200-cash pieces issued in the second year of the Republic, and bearing the flags on their obverse, and the rice and bean wreath on their reverse, thus resembling other republican issues, the Szechwan Military Government coins are of a peculiar design ; and this being common to all of them, I describe it here once for all giving afterwards for each coin the special legend it bears, indicating its value and date of issue.

Obv.—Large 漢 in *chuan* or "seal" character, on background of horizontal lines in relief, enclosed in a linear circle. Around this, eighteen small circles, the space between them and the central circle being filled up with vertical lines in relief. Above is the legend (in *k'ai-shu* character) giving the date. Right and left, and on some pieces also below, is a small four-leaved rosette.

Rev.—Within a beaded circle the legend 四川銀 (or 銅) 幣, "Silver (or copper) coin of Szechwan", with a large flower in the centre (¹). Above, 軍政府造, "Made by the Military Government"; below, the legend indicating the value. Small four-leaved rosette right and left. The legends are all in *k'ai-shu* character.

I have been at a loss to identify varieties of the different denominations of these coins. Quite a large quantity of them passed through my hands, and I discovered in almost every piece differences at

(¹) This flower, which I have been unable to identify, appears also in the centre of the reverse of the provincial 10- and 20-cent pieces of Szechwan of the Kuang-hsi years.

times very conspicuous, but in most cases extremely minute. Obverses sometimes vary, e.g., only for the relative length or inclination of one or other stroke of the character 漢, or for the number of lines forming the background of the central design; while reverses otherwise identical show occasionally slight differences in the shape of one or other character in their legend.

Having come to the conclusion that most of these differences are chiefly due to the employment of dies either damaged through long use, or obtained from deformed hubs, I will describe only those varieties which I consider as typical, showing, as they do, such characteristics as leave no doubt about their having been struck from distinct sets of dies. At any rate it is to be understood that my list of Szechwan coins is a provisional one, still requiring considerable addition and careful revision, based on the actual study—with the help of some expert numismatist—of the largest possible number of specimens.

I have grouped the coins according to their date of issue, and the following are the denominations described:

Dollar. 1st year (Nos. 38 and 42).

Half dollar. 1st year (Nos. 39 and 43).

Twenty cent. 1st year (No. 40).

Ten cents. 1st year (No. 41).

Two hundred cash. 2nd year (Nos. 49 and 50).

One hundred cash. 2nd year (Nos. 51, 52, 53, and 54).

Fifty cash. 1st, 2nd and 3rd year (Nos. 44, 45, 55, 56 and 61).

Twenty cash. 1st, 2nd and 3rd year (Nos. 46, 47, 57, 58, 59 and 62).

Ten cash. 1st and 2nd year (Nos. 48 and 60).

38. **Dollar.** Silver; diam., mm. 39; edge, milled.

Obv.—Date: 中華民國元年, "First year of the Republic of China". Background of central character formed by forty horizontal lines.

Rev.—Value: 壹圓, "One dollar."

The recognized value of this coin is 0.71 of a Szechwan tael (九七平). Its fineness is said to be 50% as against 70% of the old provincial dragon dollar.

39. **Five chio.** Silver; diam., mm. 33; edge, milled.

Obv.—Date: "First year of the Republic of China".

Rev.—Value: 五角, "Five chio" (viz. half dollar).

Most specimens have the background of the central character formed by thirty or thirty-one horizontal lines. My collection however includes one of a much finer appearance, in which these lines are fifty-nine in number.

40. **Two chio.** Silver; diam., mm. 23; edged, milled.

Obv.—Date: "First year of the Republic of China". Background of central character formed by twenty-three horizontal lines.

Rev.—Value: 二角, "Two chio" (viz. twenty cents).

41. **One chio.** Silver; diam., mm. 18.5; edge, milled.

Obv.—Date: "First year of the Republic of China". Background of central character formed by twenty-two horizontal lines.

Rev.—Value: 一角, "One chio" (viz. ten cents).

42. **Dollar.** Silver; diam., mm. 39; edge, milled.

Obv.—Date: "First year of the Republic of China". Character 民 written with additional dot (𡗗).

Rev.—Value: "One dollar".

My collection includes specimens of this coin with background of central character formed by 30, 33, 35, 39, 40, 43, 45, 46 or 52 horizontal lines. Some reverses are slightly different for the size of the characters 壹圓.

43. **Five chio.** Silver ; diam., mm. 33 ; edge, milled.

Obv.—Date : “First year of the Republic of China”. Character 民 written as on preceding.

Rev.—Value : “Five chio”. Similar to No. 39, with slight differences ; note especially the form of the character 幣.

Background of central character on *obv.*, formed by 38, 39 or 40 lines.

44. **Fifty cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 36 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Date : “First year of the Republic of China”.

Rev.—Value : 當制錢五十文, “Equal to fifty standard cash”.

Background of central character on *obv.*, formed by 32, 37, 38, 40, 43, 46, or 50 horizontal lines. Slight differences can be noticed in some reverses : one of these having the 五 in the lower legend of a larger size than the other characters.

45. **Fifty cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 36.9 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Date : “First year of the Republic of China”. Background of central character formed by 38 horizontal lines.

Rev.—As preceding, but central flower of a different shape, and central legend written in a different hand.

46. **Twenty cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 33 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Date : “First year of the Republic of China”.

Rev.—Value : 當制錢二十文, “Equal to twenty standard cash”.

Background of central character on *obv.*, formed by 38, 40, 42, 46, 47 or 52 lines.

47. **Twenty cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 32 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—As preceding, but central character of shape similar to Nos. 44 and 45.

Rev.—As preceding, but central flower of a different shape and central legend written in a different hand.

26, 30 or 35 lines in background of central character on *obv.*

48. **Ten cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 28.5 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Date : “First year of the Republic of China”.

Rev.—Value : 當制錢十文, “Equal to ten standard cash”.

Background of central character formed by 20 or 23 lines. The central character appears under many different shapes, some of which are reproduced on plate VIII.

49. **Two hundred cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 43 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Within a beaded circle, two national flags tied by a cord ending in tassels. Around, the legend : THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA - 200 CASH.

Rev.—Within a linear circle, an open wreath of rice and bean, enclosing the characters 貳百文, “Two hundred cash”. Above : 中華民國二年, “Second year of the Republic of China” ; below : 四川造幣廠造, “Made in the mint of Szechwan”. Rosette right and left.

50. **Two hundred cash.** Brass; diam., mm. 43; edge, plain.

Obv.—As preceding, but the cord by which the flags are tied together is differently arranged; the tassels are also of a different shape.

Rev.—Slightly different from the preceding. The character 民 is written with additional dot.



Fig. 49a

Both obverses and reverses of Nos. 49 and 50 vary in small particulars, owing perhaps to the deterioration of the dies from which they were struck. Thus, sometimes the knot of the cord by which the flags on obverse of No. 49 are tied together is a little displaced, appearing as on fig. 49a; also the circlet formed by the cord on obverse of No. 50 is on some pieces of an irregular form. The differences on the reverses are to be found only in minute details of the design of the wreath.

51. **One hundred cash.** Brass; diam., mm. 39; edge, plain.

Obv.—Date: 中華民國二年, "Second year of the Republic of China".

Rev.—Value: 當制錢壹百文, "Equal to one hundred standard cash".

Background of central character on obverse formed by 29 or 30 horizontal lines.

52. **One hundred cash.** Brass; diam., mm. 39; edge, plain.

Obv.—Date: "Second year of the Republic of China". 民 written with additional dot.

Rev.—As preceding, but upper legend in smaller characters.

41 or 42 lines in background of central character on obverse.

53. **One hundred cash.** Brass; diam., mm. 39; edge, plain.

Obv.—Same as preceding.

Rev.—As preceding, but lower legend written in an altogether different hand.

54. **One hundred cash.** Brass; diam., mm. 39; edge, plain.

Obv.—Date: "Second year of the Republic of China" in large characters. Rosette right, left and bottom.

Rev.—As on preceding pieces of same value, but legends in a different hand and central flower of a different shape.

29 or 30 lines in background of central character on obverse.

55. **Fifty cash.** Brass; diam., mm. 36; edge, plain.

Obv.—Date: "Second year of the Republic of China" in large characters. Rosette right, left and bottom.

Rev.—Value: 當制錢五十文, "Equal to fifty standard cash."

56. **Fifty cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 36 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Same as preceding.
Rev.—As preceding, but outer legends in larger characters ; and central flower of a different shape.
 Nos. 55 and 56 appear constantly with background of central character on obverse formed by 26 horizontal lines.
57. **Twenty cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 33 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Date : "Second year of the Republic of China".
Rev.—Value : 當制錢二十文, "Equal to twenty standard cash".
 21, 22, 23, 24, or 26 lines in background of central character on obverse.
58. **Twenty cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 32.6 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Date : "Second year of the Republic of China" in large characters. Rosette right, left and bottom.
Rev.—As preceding, but outer legends in larger characters and central flower of a shape similar to the one on No. 55.
 28 or 30 lines in background of central character on obverse.
59. **Twenty cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 32.6 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Same as preceding.
Rev.—As preceding, but outer legends in still larger characters, and central flower of a different shape.
60. **Ten cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 28.5 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Date : "Second year of the Republic of China".
Rev.—Similar to No. 48.
 16, 18 or 19 lines in background of central character on obverse.
61. **Fifty cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 36 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Date : 中華民國三年, "Third year of the Republic of China". Rosette right, left and bottom.
Rev.—Same as No. 55.
 Most specimens have 30 lines forming the background of the central character. A few, however, appear with 28 lines.
62. **Twenty cash.** Brass ; diam., mm. 32.6 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—Similar to No. 58, but date "Third year of the Republic of China".
Rev.—Same as No. 58.

D) KWANGTUNG.

63. **Twenty cents.** Silver ; diam., mm. 23.1 ; edge, milled.
Obv.—In the middle of a beaded circle a large 20, indicating the value of the coin. Outside the circle, above : KWANG-TUNG PROVINCE ; below : TWENTY CENTS. Four-leaved rosette right and left.
Rev.—Within a beaded circle, the legend 貳毫銀幣, "Two hao silver coin" ; outside the circle, above : 中華民國元年, "First year of the Republic of China" ; below : 廣東省造, "Made in Kwangtung Province". Rosettes as on obverse.

64. **Twenty cents.** Silver ; diam., mm. 23.1 ; edge, milled.
Obv.—Similar to preceding, but the body of the central figure is engraved in a different texture, not in regular vertical stripes.
Rev.—As preceding with extremely slight differences.
65. **One cent.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.
Obv.—In the middle of a beaded circle a large 1, indicating the value. Outside the circle, above: KWANG-TUNG PROVINCE ; below: ONE CENT. Small four-leaved rosette right and left.
Rev.—Within a beaded circle the legend 壹仙銅幣, "One cent copper coin" ; outside the circle, above: 中華民國元年, "First year of the Republic of China" ; below: 廣東省造, "Made in Kwangtung Province". Rosettes as on obverse.
 The terms 毫 and 仙 for 10-, and 1-cent appear for the first time on Chinese coins, having been borrowed from the Hongkong currency. In Cantonese 毫子 *ho-tsz* is a 10-cent piece, while 仙, pronounced *sin*, is merely an attempt of rendering the sound "cent."
66. **Twenty cents.** Silver ; diam., mm. 23.1 ; edge, milled.
Obv.—Same as No. 63.
Rev.—Same as No. 63, but date: 中華民國二年, "Second year of the Republic of China".
67. **Ten cents.** Silver ; diam., mm. 17.7 ; edge, milled.
Obv.—In the middle of a beaded circle a large 10, indicating the value. Outside the circle, above: KWANG-TUNG PROVINCE ; below: TEN CENTS. Four-leaved rosette right and left.
Rev.—Within a beaded circle the legend 壹毫銀幣, "One hao silver coin" ; outside the circle, above: 中華民國二年, "Second year of the Republic of China" ; below: 廣東省造, "Made in Kwangtung Province". Rosettes as on obverse.
68. **Twenty cents.** Silver ; diam., mm. 23.1 ; edge, milled.
Obv.—Same as No. 63.
Rev.—Same as No. 63, but date: 中華民國三年, "Third year of the Republic of China".
69. **Ten cents.** Silver ; diam., mm. 17.3 ; edge milled.
Obv.—Same as No. 67.
Rev.—Same as No. 67, but date: "Third year of the Republic of China".
70. **One cent.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge plain.
Obv.—Same as No. 65.
Rev.—Same as No. 65, but date "Third year of the Republic of China".
71. **The same,** struck in brass.
72. **Twenty cents.** Silver ; diam., mm. 23.1 ; edge, milled.
Obv.—Same as No. 63.
Rev.—Same as No. 63, but date: 中華民國四年, "Fourth year of the Republic of China".

73. **One cent.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Same as No. 65.

Rev.—Same as No. 65, but date "Fourth year of the Republic of China".

74. **The same**, struck in brass.

75. **One cent.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Same as No. 65.

Rev.—Same as No. 65, but date: 中華民國五年, "Fifth year of the Republic of China."

76. **The same**, struck in brass.

I append the statistical data concerning the output of the 20-, 10-, and 1-cent coins from the Kwangtung mint since the first year of the Republic, remarking however that the figures given generally include pieces struck from older dies, thus conveying only an approximate idea of what the actual production of pieces bearing the date of the corresponding year has been :

	1st year (1912)	2nd year (1913)	3rd year (1914)	4th year (1915)	5th year (1916)
20-cents	87,000,000	109,974,000	41,691,000	22,332,400	—
10-cents	—	1,439,000	6,527,000	688,000	144,800
1-cent	18,836,375	—	14,750,000	6,350,000	18,388,000

Dragon dollars and dollars of the third year of the Republic were also turned out by the Canton mint. No coin dated the sixth year has yet made its appearance ; and it seems that the market being over supplied, the minting of cent pieces has now been suspended.

E) HUNAN.

77. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Nine-pointed star similar to that appearing on Kiangsi issues. Outside the beaded circle enclosing the star, above: HU-NAN; below: TEN CASH. Small five-leaved rosette right and left.

Rev.—湖南銅元, "Hunan copper coin", within a beaded circle ; six-leaved rosette in centre. Outside the circle, above: 中華民國, "The Republic of China"; below: 當十, "Equal to ten (cash)" Small five leaved rosette right and left.

78. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Same as preceding.

Rev.—Similar to preceding, but the rosette in centre is larger.

79. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Similar to No. 77, but the disc in centre of the star is larger and convex instead of concave.

Rev.—Same as No. 77.

80. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Same as preceding.

Rev.—Same as No. 78.

In some specimens of the above coins the star on the obverse has an outline in relief which is missing in most of the pieces in circulation, owing perhaps to the wearing out of the dies.

81. **Twenty cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 32.5 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Five spikes of rice (chia-ho) within a linear circle. Outside the circle, above: THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA; below: TWENTY CASH. Dot right and left.

Rev.—Military and national flags of the Republic within linear circle. Above, outside the circle, 湖南省造, "Made in Hunan Province"; below 當二十銅元, "Copper coin of the value of twenty cash". Floral ornament right and left.

82. **The same,** struck in brass.

83. **Twenty cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 32.5 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Similar to No. 81, but lower legend: 20 CASH.

Rev.—Same as No. 81, but the lines on the military flag representing its foldings are slightly differently arranged.

F) HONAN.

84. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Two national flags tied with a cord ending in tassels. Above: HO-NAN; below: TEN CASH. Floral ornament right and left.

Rev.—Within a beaded circle a wreath of rice and bean enclosing the characters 十文, "Ten cash". Outside the circle, above: 中華民國, "The Republic of China"; below: 河南省造, "Made in Hunan Province". A small flower on a tiny branch right and left.

85. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—From same die as preceding.

Rev.—Same as preceding, but the small flowers right and left are not supported by a branch.

G) SHANSI.

86. **1 mace and 4·4 candareens.** Silver ; diam., mm. 23 ; edge, milled.

Obv.—Very badly engraved dragon with scribbles around, from which the legend MANCHURIAN PROVINCES* 1 MACE AND 4·4 CANDAREENS* is to be made out.

Rev.—Within a beaded circle the legend 宣統元寶, "Currency of the Hsüan-t'ung period". Outside the circle, above: 山西省造, "Made in Shansi Province"; below: 庫平一錢四分四厘, "One ch'ien, four fên, four li, official weight". Six-pointed star right and left.

87. **1 mace and 4·4 candareens.** Silver; diam., mm. 23; edge, milled.

Obv.—Dragon of equally poor workmanship and legend FIRST YEAR OF HSUAN TUNG * MANCHURIAN PROVINCES *.

Rev.—Similar to preceding.

The above two coins, though purporting to be issues of the Hsüan-t'ung years, find their place here because they are a product of the secession of the Shansi Province from the Manchus. The leader of the movement for the independence of that province, having proclaimed himself Tutuh, finding the provincial coffers empty, collected as much silver as he could and, mixing it with as much copper as possible, had the above described pieces minted in the Taiyüanfu arsenal. The Hsüan-t'ung *nien-hao* was inscribed on their reverse, apparently to inspire confidence in the people, who were thus led to think that the coins had been already in circulation for some time, and were not to be looked on suspiciously, as in China all new issues are. A provincial official assured me that the coins in question were minted in Tientsin, by order of the Governor of Shansi in the second year Hsüan-t'ung; but this I consider a serious libel on the Tientsin mint!

H) SINKIANG.

88. **One Tael.** Silver; diam., mm. 39; edge, milled.

Obv.—Two flags, each having five vertical stripes, of which the first bears five circlelets, whilst the others are ornamented with flourishes. Between the flags, above and below, the characters 壬子, *i.e.* the year 1912-13.

Rev.—The legend 簡銀一兩, "One tael, revenue silver", within a beaded circle; around, the legend 中華民國元年, "First year of the Republic of China".

89. **One tael.** Silver; diam., mm. 39; edge, milled.

Obv.—Similar to preceding, but the five vertical stripes of the flags bear alternately five circlelets and the ornamental flourishes. The characters 壬子 are written in a different hand.

Rev.—Struck apparently from the same die as preceding.

90. **Five mace.** Silver; diam., mm. 33.5; edge, milled.

Obv.—Same design as preceding, but the flags are of reduced dimensions and the ornamental flourishes on their stripes are of a slightly simpler pattern. The characters 壬子 are of the same size as on preceding.

Rev.—The legend 簡銀伍錢, "Five mace, revenue silver" within a beaded circle; around, the date 中華民國元年, "First year of the Republic of China".

91. **Twenty cash.** Bronze; diam., mm. 40; edge, plain.

Obv.—Two flags with five longitudinal stripes bearing alternately five circlelets and flourishes; an arrow vertically crossing the junction of the flags, its point resting within an ornamental support.

Rev.—新疆通寶, "Currency of Sinkiang", within a beaded circle; small eight-pointed rosette in centre. Around the circle: 中華民國當紅錢二十文, "The Republic of China. Equal to twenty red copper cash".

92. **Twenty cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 40 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Very slightly different from the preceding.

Rev.—Slightly different from the preceding. Note the size of the characters 通 and 紅.

93. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 33.2 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Same design as No. 91, but of reduced dimensions.

Rev.—新疆通寶, "Currency of Sinkiang" within a beaded circle ; five-leaved rosette in centre. Around the circle: 中華民國當紅錢十文, "The Republic of China. Equal to ten red copper cash".

The above coins, Nos. 88-93 represent the issues of the Urumtsi (Tihwafu) mint, which suspended its work in 1912.

94. **Five mace.** Silver ; diam., mm. 32.5 ; edge, milled.

Obv.—Two flags each having five plain vertical stripes. Between the flags, above and below, legends in Turki. Date : (A.H.) 1331.

Rev.—中華民國, "The Republic of China", within beaded circle, dot in centre. Around the circle, above: 餉銀五錢, "Five mace, revenue silver"; below: 新疆喀造, "Made in Kashgar, Sinkiang". Five-pointed star right and left.

95. **Five mace.** Silver ; diam., mm. 33 ; edge, milled.

Obv.—Similar to preceding, but slight differences in the arrangement of the letters of the Turki legend. Date : (A.H.) 1332.

Rev.—As preceding, but dotted circle enclosing the central legend smaller, and outer legends in larger characters.

The *annus Hegirae* 1331 began on December 11th, 1912, and expired on November 29th, 1913; the A.H. 1332 expired on November 18th, 1914.

96. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 33.2 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Flags as on No. 94 or 95. Legends in Turki between the flags, above and below.

Rev.—中華民國, "The Republic of China", within beaded circle ; dot in centre. Above: 當紅錢十文, "Equal to ten red copper cash"; right and left: 銅幣, "Copper coin"; below: 新疆喀造, "Made in Kashgar, Sinkiang", with small six-leaved rosette right and left.

97. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 33.2 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—As preceding, but for small differences.

Rev.—As preceding, but no six-leaved rosette right and left of the lower legend.

Pieces occur of Nos. 96 and 97 with slight differences in the handwriting of the legends, both Turki and Chinese.

98. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 33.2 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—As No. 96, but date (A.H.) 1332, and syllables of the lower Turki legend arranged in a different way⁽¹⁾.

Rev.—As No. 96.

(1)

فل
كس
اون داجت

instead of

اون
داجت
فل

On some pieces *ful* is written فل.

99. **Five cash.** Bronze; diam., mm. 28; edge, plain.

Obv.—Flags as on preceding. Legends in Turki above and below.

Rev.—中華民國, "The Republic of China", within beaded circle, dot in centre. Above: 當紅錢五文, "Equal to five red copper cash"; right and left: 銅幣, "Copper coin"; below: 新疆喀造, "Made in Kashgar, Sinkiang".

100. **Five cash.** Bronze; diam., mm. 28; edge, plain.

Obv.—中華民國銅幣, "Copper coin of the Republic of China."

Rev.—Within a beaded circle, a flag in centre of a Turki inscription. Outside the circle, above: 當紅錢五文, "Equal to five red copper cash"; below: 新疆喀造, "Made in Kashgar, Sinkiang".

The only specimen of this coin I could secure is so worn out that it is impossible to make out the entire Turki legend on the reverse.

101. **Ten cash.** Bronze; diam., mm. 32; edge, plain.

Obv.—Two flags with five longitudinal stripes. Legend in Turki above and below.

Rev.—中華民國, "The Republic of China" within beaded circle; a small circlet in centre. Above: 新疆阿造, "Made in Aksu, Sinkiang"; below: 當紅錢十文, "Equal to ten red copper cash".

A cast coin of very rough appearance.

III.—COINS FOR GENERAL USE IN THE REPUBLIC.

102. **Ten cash.** Bronze; diam., mm. 28; edge, plain.

Obv.—Within a linear circle an open wreath of vine enclosing an emblem much resembling the Japanese sun. Outside the circle the legend THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA "TEN CASH"

Rev.—Within a linear circle the military and national flags of the Republic, and above and between them an emblem resembling that on the obverse, but smaller and oblong. Around the circle, above: 中華民國, "The Republic of China"; below: 當十銅元, "Copper coin of the value of ten (cash)". Floral design right and left.

103. **Ten cash.** Bronze; diam., mm. 28; edge, plain.

Obv.—Same as preceding.

Rev.—Slightly different from preceding as regards the lines representing the foldings of the military flag, and the design of the ribbon with which the flags are tied.

104. **Ten cash.** Bronze; diam., mm. 28; edge, plain.

Obv.—Same as No. 102.

Rev.—Same as No. 102 but for slight differences. The character 銅 is written in its usual form and not 銅.

105. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—The Chia-ho within a linear circle. Legend THE
REPUBLIC OF CHINA " TEN CASH "

Rev.—From the same die as No. 102.

106. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—From same die as preceding.

Rev.—From same die as No. 103.

107. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Same as No. 105, but the line running along the stalk
of the two lower ears of rice is omitted.

Rev.—From same die as No. 103.

108. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—From same die as No. 105.

Rev.—From same die as No. 104.

109. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—From same die as No. 105.

Rev.—Similar to No. 103 with slight differences and addition
of a dot right and left of the legend 中華民國.

110. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—From same die as No. 105.

Rev.—Flags within linear circle, and oblong six leaved rosette
between them. Outside the circle, above: 中華民國, "The Re-
public of China"; below: 當拾銅圓, "Copper coin of the value of
ten (cash)". Long rosettes right and left.

The Chinese legend on this coin is in *k'ai-shu* character,
instead of *ku-t'i* as on precedings. Note also 拾 for 十, and 圓
for 元.

111. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Similar to No. 105, but six more leaves are added to the
Chia-ho, and a larger number of grains on each ear, the shape of
the grains being thinner.

Rev.—From same die as preceding.

112. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—From same die as preceding.

Rev.—From same die as No. 103.

113. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—Chia-ho without additional leaves, but shape of rice
grains more similar to No. 111.

Rev.—Same as No. 109.

114. **Ten cash.** Bronze ; diam., mm. 28 ; edge, plain.

Obv.—From same die as preceding.

Rev.—Same as No. 109 but for very slight differences in the
foldings of the military flag.

115. **The same**, struck in brass.

It will be remarked that all the above varieties result from five types of obverses (Nos. 102, 105, 107, 111, and 113) and seven types of reverses (Nos. 102, 103, 104, 109, 110, and 114) variously combined. As my list does not include all the possible combinations, it is probable that some other varieties are in existence which are still unknown to me. Nos. 109 and 110 are rather scarce. Nos. 102, 103 and 104 are also not common, and I think they were struck in small quantities before the adoption of the Chia-ho as national emblem.

116. **One cash**. Iron (gr. 5); diam., mm. 24; edge, plain.

Obv.—民國通寶, "Currency of the Republic", top, bottom, right and left of central square hole.

Rev.—一文, "One cash", right and left of hole.

This, as I have stated in the introduction, is only a trial piece. The Tientsin mint officials, after having had the die for this coin engraved, became convinced of the impracticability of an iron coinage.

117. **Dollar**. Silver (gr. 27, 88% fine); diam., mm. 39; edge, milled.

Obv.—Head of Yüan Shih-k'ai, $\frac{3}{4}$ profile to left. Above, along the rim, 中華民國三年, "Third year of the Republic of China".

Rev.—An open wreath of barley enclosing the characters 壹圓 "One dollar".

This dollar was never put in circulation. The engraver, Mr. L. Giorgi, whose name appears near the right shoulder of Yüan Shih-k'ai's bust, had been granted a special audience by the late President in order to submit to him the first specimen struck of his new dollar. But on seeing the President, whose portrait the engraver had reproduced only from a photograph, the artist was inspired to produce something better: permission was then asked and granted to begin a new die, when the following coin was produced.

118. **Dollar**. Silver (gr. 27, 88% fine); diam., mm. 39; edge, milled.

Obv.—Head of Yüan Shih-k'ai in profile to left. Legend as on preceding.

Rev.—From same die as preceding.

The name of the engraver appears near the President's back on the specimen in my collection: but it was not allowed to remain on the coins to be put in circulation, on account of the rather chauvinistic desire of the Board of Finance to issue a "purely Chinese" coin.

119. **Half dollar**. Silver (gr. 13.5, 80% fine); diam., mm. 31.5; edge, milled.

Obv.—Same as preceding but of reduced dimensions.

Rev.—Wreath enclosing the characters 中圓, "Half dollar" Above, legend 每二枚當一圓, "Each two pieces equal to one dollar".

中圓 is the name which was formerly given to the Hongkong 50-cent pieces which were commonly used in China many years ago. 中 is here equivalent of 半.

120. **Two chio.** Silver (gr. 5.07, 70% fine); diam., mm. 22.5; edge, milled.

Obv.—Head of Yüan Shih-k'ai and legend as on precedings, but in still reduced dimensions.

Rev.—Wreath enclosing the characters 貳角, "Two chio" (viz. twenty cents). Above, legend 每五枚當一圓, "Each five pieces equal to one dollar".

The master dies for No. 119 were completed on April 4th, 1915; those for No. 120 on July 9th of the same year.

121. **One chio.** Silver (gr. 3, 70% fine); diam., mm. 18; edge, milled.

Obv.—As precedings, in further reduced dimensions.

Rev.—Wreath enclosing the characters 壹角, "One chio" (viz. ten cents). Above, legend 每十枚當一圓, "Each ten pieces equal to one dollar".

A specimen in my collection has the initials L. G. (for L. Giorgi) near Yuan Shih-kai's back. These initials do not appear on the pieces issued for general circulation.

122. **One fên.** Bronze; diam., mm. 26; edge, plain.

Obv.—Ornamented with a finely engraved chain along the rim, and a wreath of barley embracing a central plain square panel.

Rev.—Right and left of the central round hole 壹分, "One fên" (viz. one cent); above: 中華民國五年, "Fifth year of the Republic of China"; below: 每一百枚當一圓, "Each hundred pieces equal to one dollar". Rosettes dividing the upper from the lower legend; chain along the rim, as on obv.

123. **Five li.** Bronze; diam., mm. 22; edge, plain.

Obv.—Similar to preceding, in reduced dimensions.

Rev.—Right and left of the central round hole 伍釐, "Five li" (viz. half cent); above: 中華民國五年, "Fifth year of the Republic of China"; below: 每二百枚當一圓, "Each two hundred pieces equal to one dollar". Five-pointed stars instead of rosettes, dividing the upper from the lower legend; chain along the rim, as on obv.

Nos. 122 and 123 are the last coins issued from the Tientsin mint, and they were designed and engraved by Mr. L. Giorgi. The pieces are extremely fine, and a clever adaptation of western style to oriental taste. I venture to say that the attractive garb given to these coins will help to render them popular and to smooth the path to the realization of the long desired and badly needed monetary reform in China, to which the Republican Government seems now to give some attention. To their series belongs also a 2-cent piece, the die for which is still being engraved. On the specimens in my collection the name Giorgi appears on the obverse, in very minute letters. It is not to be found on pieces put in circulation.

分 and 釐 had never before appeared on Chinese coins to mean "cent" and $\frac{1}{10}$ of cent, viz. the $\frac{1}{100}$ and $\frac{1}{1000}$ of dollar (圓) respectively—their value having been so far $\frac{1}{100}$ and $\frac{1}{1000}$ of Tael (兩). The "National Currency" series of the third year Hsüan-t'ung included 2-, and 1-cent and 5-, and 1-cash pieces, and dies were engraved in Austria with legends 二分, 一分, 五厘 and 一厘 respectively, but the only piece issued of these was the 1-cent, on which the legend 一分 was changed into the customary 十文.

Concerning the issue of the coins Nos. 119-123, I think it interesting to reproduce here the notice published by the Ministry of Finance, early in this year :

"The public is hereby notified that the Ministry of Finance has been advised by the Head Mint at Tientsin that the three kinds of subsidiary silver coins, the half-yuan piece, the 20 cent piece, and the 10 cent piece, newly minted as per order of the Ministry have all been issued and put in circulation. They are considered the most convenient in every respect by the business circle as well as the people in general. Now, again; the two kinds of subsidiary copper coins, the 1 cent piece and the $\frac{1}{2}$ cent piece, newly minted as per order of the Ministry have all been duly minted and ready for issue. Their weight and fineness and the legal allowance for variations of the same all conform to the provisions of the National Currency Law.

"Other Ministries and the Provincial Authorities have been informed by this Ministry to the effect and local officials pertaining thereto are to be instructed as well by the Governors concerned that in collecting taxes, duties, likin, and other revenue, the receipts from the Post Office, the Telegraphic Administration, Railways and other governmental enterprises, the above mentioned coins shall hereafter be accepted in the manner as stated in the National Currency Law.

"These coins are to be exchanged for one another on a decimal basis, *i.e.*, 10 pieces of a lower denomination shall exchange for 1 piece of the immediate higher denomination, and vice versa, and no premium nor discount is allowed in exchange. Whoever shall violate this prescription will be punished in accordance with article 9 of the regulations for the execution of the National Currency Law.

"These new subsidiary coins being of the decimal system, have the advantage of simplicity and uniformity over the corresponding old coins. They may be presented to the Government Banks for exchange at any time, one yuan can exchange for ten 10-cent pieces, or for one hundred 1-cent pieces and vice versa. No limit is set as to amount that may be exchanged for one time, the exchange rate being of course the same for paying out as well as for receiving in to the Bank."

APPENDIX.

COINS OF THE HUNG-HSIEN DAYS.

The unfortunate attempt of Yüan Shih-k'ai to secure the throne for himself and his descendants has left some trace in the coinage of China.

The province of Hunan issued some copper cents bearing the *nien-hao* chosen by the founder of the new dynasty, and a 10-cent silver coin followed shortly afterwards, to be quickly withdrawn from circulation, the few pieces already struck being carefully collected and destroyed.

At the Tientsin mint a die for a gold coin of the value of ten dollars, dated "the beginning of the Hung-hsien (period)" had been engraved, and from it only a limited number of pieces was struck under a strict watch from the mint director, for presentation

to "His Majesty". I am told that the die was afterwards sent to Peking, without even a sample piece having been kept at the mint.

Description of these three coins follows:

1. **One chio.** Silver; diam., mm. 20; edge, milled.

Obv.—Within a beaded circle the legend: 中華銀幣 "Silver coin of China"; dot in centre. Around the circle, above: 洪憲元年, "First year Hung-hsien"; right and left: 湖南, "Hunan"; below: 開國紀念, "In commemoration of the change of regime".

Rev.—Dragon encircling the characters 壹角, "One chio" (viz. ten cents) ⁽¹⁾.

A number of pieces of this coin were struck in copper and for some days were obtainable at Changsha from exchange shops, but very soon they became scarce. The silver pieces never left the mint: one was presented to me by a mint official who assured me that most of the limited number struck had returned to the melting pot.

The Changsha 大中報 *Ta Chung Pao* of January 28th, 1916, when announcing the proposed issue of new coins for circulation in the province ⁽²⁾, gave the following description of the 10-cent piece which was going to be struck:

Obv.—(正面)—Character 湘 in centre. Above: 洪憲元年, "First year Hung-hsien"; below: 七分二釐, "Seven fên, two li".

Rev.—(反面)—Portrait of the Emperor encircled by the Chia-ho.

The Director of the Changsha mint, to whom I applied for specimens, branded as a piece of misinformation all what the *Ta Chung Pao* had published about these new coins—none of which in fact, so far as I know, made eventually its appearance.

2. **Ten cash.** Bronze; diam., mm. 28; edge, plain.

Obv.—Within a linear circle the chia-ho similar to No. 112 of the republican coins. Legend around the circle: THE FIRST YEAR OF HUNG SHUAN (sic) TEN CASH.

Rev.—Within a linear circle the legend 當十銅元, "Copper coin of the value of ten (cash)", with floral design right and left. Outside the circle, above: 洪憲元年, "First year Hung-hsien"; right and left: 湖南, "Hunan"; below: 開國紀念幣, "Coin commemorative of the change of regime". Minute five-leaved rosettes right and left, above and below the characters 湖南.

3. **Ten dollars.** Gold (gr. 8.009, 850 fine); diam., mm. 21; edge, milled.

Obv.—Head of Yüan Shih-k'ai, same as on the silver series of the 3rd year of the Republic.

Rev.—A winged dragon grasping a bunch of arrows in the left fore claw, and a sceptre in the right. Legend, above: 中華帝國, "The Empire of China"; below: 洪憲紀元, "The beginning of the Hung-hsien (period)", with the characters 拾圓, "Ten dollars", right and left.

⁽¹⁾ The design for this reverse is taken from the 10-cent silver piece of the third year Hsüan-t'ung, struck in Tientsin from dies engraved by one 余子貞 Yü Tzu-chen.

⁽²⁾ These were to be of the following denominations:

Silver: 72 candareens; 1 mace and 44 candareens; 2 mace and 16 candareens; and 3 mace and 6 candareens (viz. 10-, 20-, 30-, and 50-cent pieces).
Copper: 10-, 20-, 30-, and 50-cash.



PLATE I.



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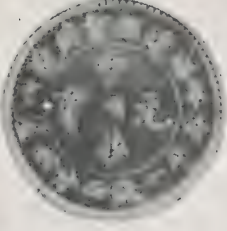
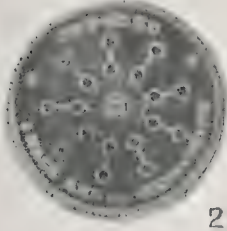
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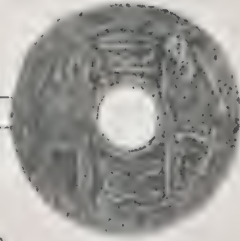
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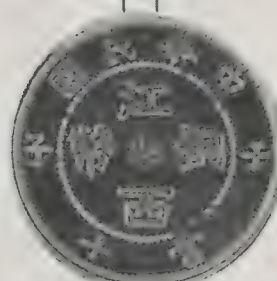
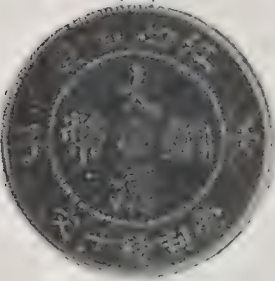
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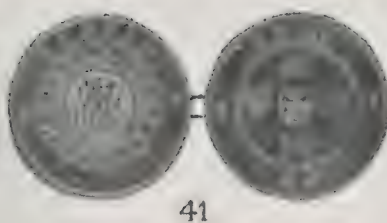
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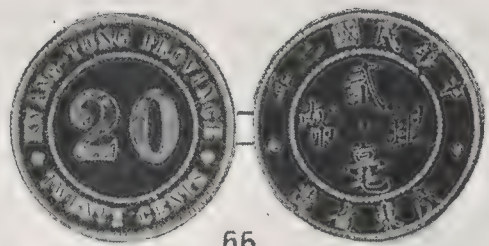
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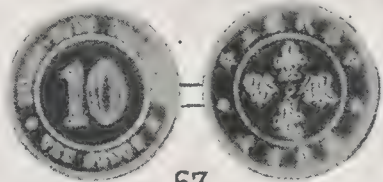
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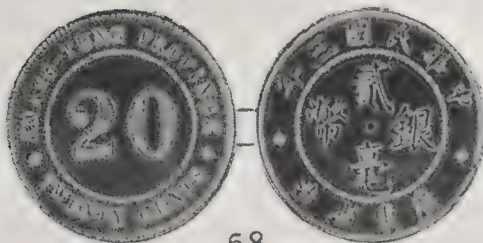
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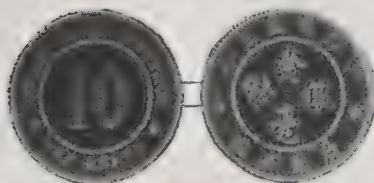
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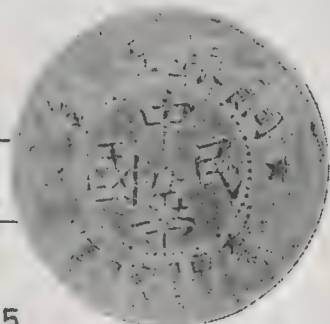
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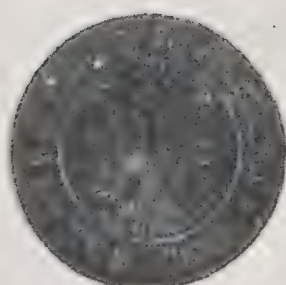
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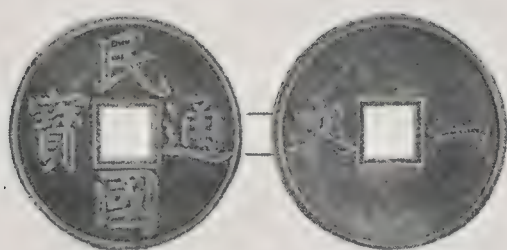
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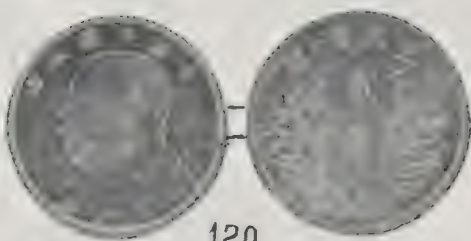




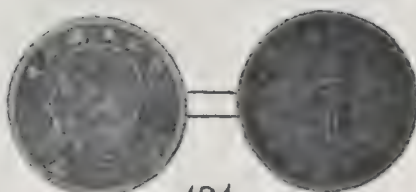
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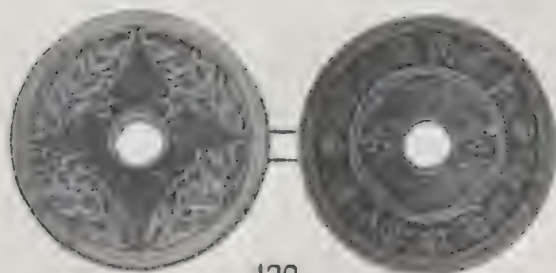
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PLATE XXI.

HUNG-HSIEN COINS.

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN ANCIENT CHINESE SCULPTURE.

VICTOR SEGALEN

Among various creations of old Chinese art, the carved stone, and more especially the large statues which during centuries guarded the more important tombs, have for a long time been overlooked by Europeans, or neglected by their own countrymen; while the bronzes, the potteries, the porcelains, the paintings, even the music—and of course for a long time the literature, have been the subject of critical and very comprehensive researches; on the other hand the stone monuments of Ancient China have only quite recently taken their place in the study of this great civilisation.

The reason for this is, I believe, two-fold. China is vast, certain parts of it are still unknown as far as geographical exactness is concerned; the monuments in question are not easily moved; they are, as a rule, situated in places which the railway, I am happy to say, has not yet reached, places to which only the eternal roads of classical China lead.

Nevertheless, some of them would already have been the aim of veritable pilgrimages of archaeologists and artists, if an unhappy chance had not placed nearer the coast, and therefore within easy reach the worst specimens of those which still exist; I refer to the distressing and much too celebrated statues of the Ming tombs north of Peking.

This caused a false start in the early study of Chinese sculpture. What was in reality the produce of great decadence, was taken to be the work of a great epoch in this art, and without even trying to find out if other forms had previously existed,—it was hastily concluded that these heavy, stiff, and rigid forms were characteristic of all Chinese sculpture,—that concluded, research and interest were turned towards the other branches of the plastic arts.

I would like here to point out that the well known English archaeologist Dr. Bushell was the first to draw attention to the importance of these ancient stone monuments, the low relief of the Han, in the funeral chambers of Shantung; this was at a lecture given in 1881 in Berlin, at the Oriental Congress. I am sorry to

say that only a few took any notice of this communication, and for a long time his investigations were not appreciated at their true worth.¹

It was only after the first publications of Prof. Edouard Chavannes² and more especially after the discoveries which this great savant made during his second voyage in 1907 in Shantung, Honan, Shansi and Shensi, that the sculptured stones of Ancient China yielded us a rich harvest of documents. At the same time, the complete erudition of the translator of Ssü-ma Ch'ien, made it possible for him to comment upon his discoveries and to embody them in the fundamental work published in the form of two big albums and a series of text-books under the title "*Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*."³

Our expedition was based on these facts. We intended to proceed from Hsi-an-fu to the borders of Tibet, and having crossed the southern part of Shen-si and the greater part of Ssü Ch'üan, to conduct analogous researches after the very methods inaugurated by Prof. Chavannes; it was with that purpose, with that respectful ambition and with the benevolent sanction of the master himself that, three years ago, we set out from Peking.

"We," that is to say, my two companions, Count Gilbert de Voisin, with whom five years previously I had undertaken a first trip in Kansu, and Ssü Ch'üan, and Jean Lartigue, a young captain in the French Navy, familiar with navigation on the upper Yang-Tzū. It is my pleasant duty to associate both of these friends with every word that I am going to say, as every step we took and every research we made were associated in the most friendly manner, in the undertaking of which I have the honour to speak to you to-day.

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Although our principal goal was Ssü Ch'üan, yet we had the good fortune when passing through Shansi, guided as we were by the Chronicles of the Province, to discover the tomb, absolutely intact in its shape, of one of the most famous personages of ancient times, a great ruler of the third century before Christ, whom commonplace China hates on principle, but whom I, and I hope

¹ In 1886 Prof. R. K. Douglas, Professor of Chinese at King's College, London, published in the *Journal of the R. A. S.* Vol XVIII, a short article under the heading "Ancient Sculpture in China" which was based exclusively on the rather unreliable reproductions of Chin Shih So 金石索.

During the same year Col. Dudley A. Mills, then lieutenant, was the first foreigner to visit the funeral chambers of Hsiao T'ang Shan 孝堂山. He brought back with him a new series of rubbings which he presented to the British Museum.

² *La sculpture sur pierre en Chine au temps des deux dynasties Han*, Paris; E. Leroux 1893.

³ In 1903 Prof. Berthold Laufer went to Shantung and even if he did not publish separate works on sculptured stone, nevertheless the minute studies which he made regarding the funeral chambers served at least as a solid basis for his fine work "Chinese Pottery of the Han dynasty," 1909.

PLATE I.

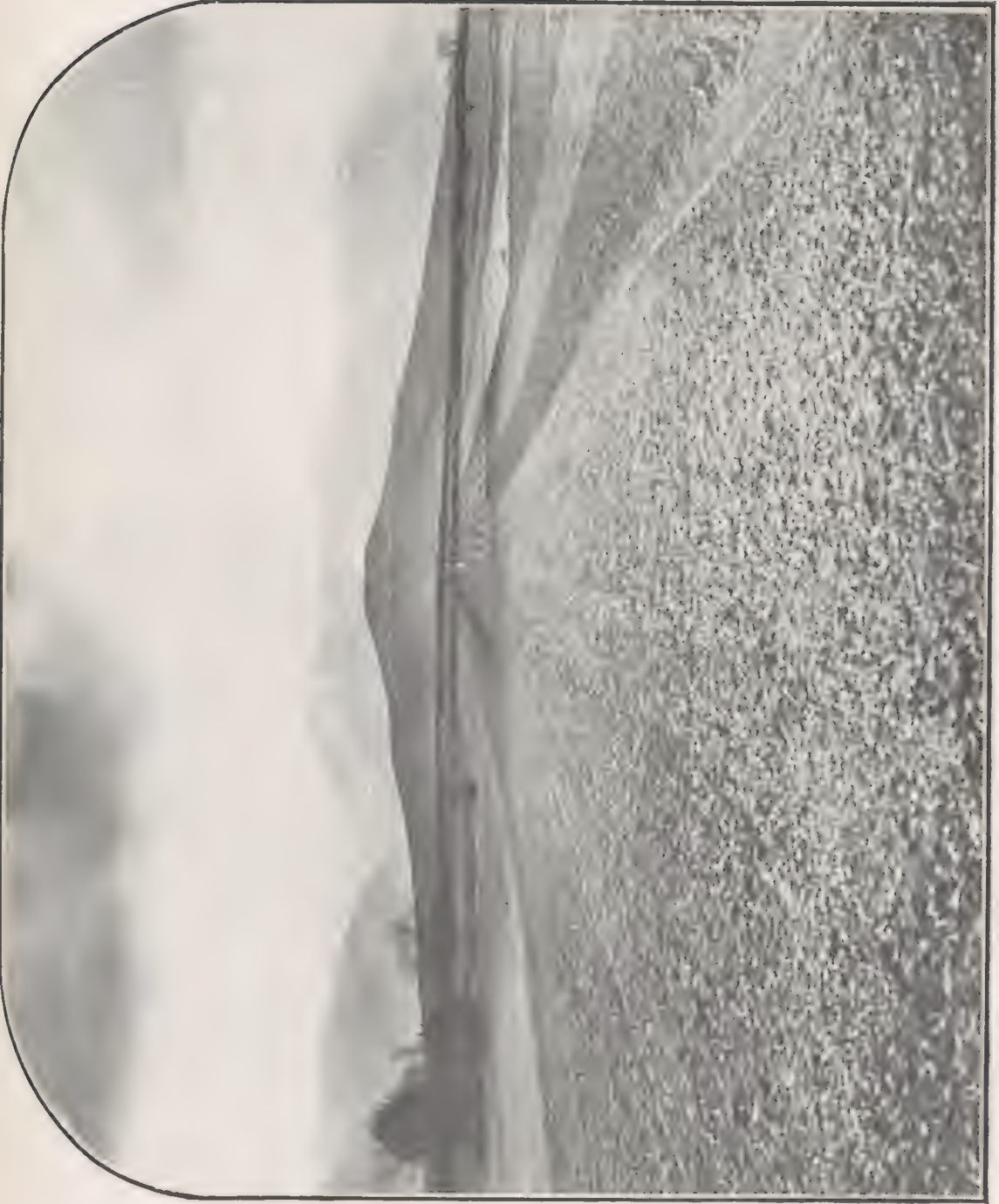




PLATE II.



PLATE III.

some of you, greatly admire ; I mean Ch'in Shih Huang, if called by the dynastic name, or Shih Huang Ti, First Emperor Sovereign if we give him the name which he himself has chosen. I wish to dedicate what follows to his great patronage. Here you see as the first of the pictures (Plate I) the silhouette of his mausoleum.

It is the most voluminous, the most monumental of all those which exist in China ; it is one hundred and fifty feet high, and each of the sides is more than a thousand feet long. You will observe that the form is very decisive, well designed, with three successive undulations ; to use the words of the poet : "as three hills massed on top of one another."

Nothing now remains of the stone monuments which, without doubt, have guarded the entrance. To-day the tumulus appears completely naked, but set off by splendid scenery, and reclining, so to say, on the mountains which form a frame around it, and which most certainly create an excellent "Fêng Shui" from a geomancer's point of view.

This tomb is sixty li in an easterly direction from Hsi-an-fu, at the foot of the Li-Shan Mountains and south of the Wei river. Its authenticity is borne out by the texts, (as a matter of fact, Ssü-ma Ch'ien describes it fully and exhaustively)—and also by a grandeur which is inseparable from the powerful personality of Shih-Huang-Ti.

* * *

The double dynasty of Han, Western Han and Eastern Han, occupies, in the history of China, a central place in the epochs. It was witness of the great expansion. It is "par excellence" the great historic Chinese dynasty. It has handed down to us the most ancient authentic stone monuments actually known on Chinese soil. Before the Han, the other dynasties—of Ch'in, Chou, Shang-Yin,—have only left as a legacy, tumuli—(some of which are very important) ; bronzes ; potteries ; and inscriptions on stone, shells of tortoise, or bones.

Heretofore the known monuments of Han have been :

Five pair of funeral pillars, of which three pair are situated in Honan, one in Shantung and one in Ssü Ch'üan. Their dates range from 118 to 209 A.D.

Two funeral Chambers in Shantung, of about the same epoch.

One pair of winged tigers in Ssü Ch'üan. Some fragments of similar animals in Shantung.

A certain number of tablets and carved slabs.

The position of old monuments is more or less indicated by the Chinese archaeological works. In Ssü Ch'üan therefore we were principally guided by the excellent Chin Shih Yuan 金石苑 ; however, as the monuments were practically unknown to the very people of the Province, as their position was extremely doubtful, their actual discovery required veritable exploration.

The fact that all the pillars of Ssü Ch'üan are grouped in a certain number of localities, allows us to name them after the prefecture or subprefecture where they are to be found :

In the Eastern part the 渠縣 Ch'ü Hsien.

In the Central part the double group of 梓潼縣 Tzū T'ung Hsien and 綿州 Mien Chou.

In the Western part, the 郫州 Ya Chou Group. We discovered, altogether in Ssü Ch'üan, eighteen pillars, which increase the total of these monuments actually known from ten to twenty-eight.

Of some, only the inscribed parts are visible, and as a consequence their only value lies now in the epigraphy. As many as twelve, however, are complete. These are fully carved and reveal to us the style of architecture and sculpture of the Han in this great Province.

The most typical and at the same time the most simple of these pillars is that of Fêng Huan 馮煥¹. This monument which dates from the year 121 A.D. is of a satisfying elegance and of great purity of line. It is composed of the following elements, which all are extremely sober in their decoration ; a rectangular base, (but please notice that the hexagonal stones surrounding the foot of the pillar are modern) ; on the base is the shaft, namely a monolith hewn in a slightly trapezoidal form ; this is surmounted by a corbelling,—that is a projecting story ; finally a crowning sheltered by a roof.

This pillar is made of fine sandstone like all the other pillars in Ssü Ch'üan. Another general observation, all the ornaments, all the architectural details, the joists, the rafters, the uprights and so on, are nothing but the reproduction, in stone, of the fundamental forms of construction in wood. It carries the double inscription :

故尚書侍郎河南京今豫州幽州刺史馮使君神道

"Soul's road of the late Commissioner Fêng, who had the titles of Ku Shang Shu Shih Lang, Mayor of the capital in Honan, Prefect of the circuit of Yü and the circuit of Yo."

To tell the truth, in spite of its apparent harmony, the Fêng Huan pillar has not been preserved us in its original and complete state. The researches of Prof. Chavannes have proved that in Honan and Shantung the funeral pillars were always furnished with a buttress, and in reality, our own investigations in Ssü Ch'üan have confirmed that this rule is general as we have always found that the outside part of the shaft of the pillar, on a rectangular surface is not polished, but only "épannelée," that is

¹ This lecture was illustrated with about 50 slides. Those reproduced here, with two exceptions, are unpublished, and have been chosen so as not to employ those already reproduced in "Journal Asiatique," (Mai-Juin 1915 et Mai-Juin 1916) ; to these the reader will be referred in due time.

to say, roughly smoothed, which indicates that the shaft had been prepared to receive a buttress; you will now see an example of such a buttress in its original position.

Here is the pillar of P'ing Yang 平陽 in Mien Chou. The buttress is the small pillar on the left side (Plate II). I am showing you this figure as a type of what I call a complex pillar. This we found in the central group, and certain indications allow us to fix it as dating from the Minor Han period of the Three Kingdoms, surely not later, that is the first half of the third century of the Christian era.

I call it a complex pillar on account of the manner in which the blocks are superposed, and fit into one another. It is composed of seven parts, namely, the base, the shaft, two stories of corbelling, a frieze, the crowning and the roof. (Let me here make a very important remark: take no notice whatever of the sculptures contained in the small pointed arches which you see on the shaft of the pillar; all that has been added as an over-decoration by Buddhists of a much later date, and has spoiled the primitive lines and ornamentation of the pillar. This deterioration would have been absolutely deplorable if it had not supplied us with the most ancient Buddhist date, which has been discovered on a monument of stone in Ssü Ch'üan "Liang Ta T'ung third year, 梁大通三年 *i.e.* 529 A.D.)"

Let us return to the Han. You will remark that the sculptures in the crowning possess a fulness hitherto unknown in similar monuments, an amplification which aims towards the "ronde bosse" that is the statue liberated from the wall of stone. It is no longer the low relief, fractions of inches thick, which we find in sacrificial funeral temples of the Han in Shantung, but it is a vigorous sculpture carved in three dimensions of the substance. There is a fine example of this: (Plate III) two powerful beasts, very slender, rather serpent-like, but with four legs, and in reality more resembling tigers than dragons,—are seen locked in a furious battle, biting one another. The one on top, the stronger, has seized the other by the flank. The one beneath bites with all its force the right fore-leg of the larger. It is a scene which may be described as full of life and movement, and of large dimensions; (the animals are more than three feet long). The sculpture is placed on the corner of the pillar which you have just seen, and forms under the roof an enveloping decoration very vigorous and of good effect.

This scene which I call "the battle of the feline beasts" must for the Han have had a peculiar symbolic meaning, because it is so often re-produced, nearly always on the pillars. The scene is, however, not complete with the figures of the fighting animals; one always finds a third, and this the figure of a man which is placed behind the greater of the beasts, seizes it by the tail and

pulls it violently backwards; this figure is more or less visible according to the state of preservation in which the monument is found, and the angle at which it is re-produced. I must admit that I have up to the present, been unable to find in the inscriptions or in the texts, any explanation of this battle; and I would be glad if any one could make any suggestion or give me any indication which could be of assistance in elucidating this matter.

On the other hand many subjects are easily interpreted. Here you see on one of the pillars of 渠 C'hü hsien a glutton head (Plate IV). On account of the use which has been made of this head on bronzes under the name of "Tao-tieh" it is not surprising to find it on the pillars; but the animal is here executed in a very interesting manner, as on the back of the pillar one sees the hind legs and tail protruding, so that the beast as it were, goes right through the crowning of the monument.

With the exception of the pillar of Fêng 馮 which was the first I showed you, these pillars of Ssü Ch'üan are all covered with subjects which are very bold, very free; it is impossible to describe them all, they are too numerous, but the integral publications, in the future, of our albums, will show in detail the historic, domestic, and legendary life under the Han. ⁽¹⁾.

I must insist that the style of carving is two-fold; and of completely different manners. On the crowning itself the "ronde-bosse" dominates, as in the examples, you have seen, even the small figures are carved in very pronounced relief; but, mid-way up the shaft, on the large flat bands which break it, we find very often low reliefs, in every point similar to those we know so well from the funeral chambers of Shantung, that is to say, those which form the subject of the first communication by Dr. Bushell. If it were possible to have any doubt as regards the epoch of our pillars,—quite apart from the names and dates with which they are furnished,—the verification of this absolute similarity would be sufficient proof.

(¹) These publications, which will be undertaken as soon as conditions will allow, will comprise:—

- (A) Large Albums, containing photographic reproductions, rubbings and drawings.
- (B) Topographical Itinerary from Ning-Yuan-fu to Likiung [in Yunnan] (a notice to this effect has already appeared in the *Revue Géographique*, Juillet 1915).
- (C) A diary covering the route from Honan fu to Yunnanfu.
- (D) Finally, a series of studies which will be divided under the following headings:—
 - I Stone carvings in Ancient China.
 - II Cliff tombs in Szechuan.
 - III Ancient Buddhist Art in Szechuan.
 - IV "Art tumulaire"—(Architectural and topographical Studies of the Imperial Tombs in Shansi.)



PLATE IV.



PLATE V.

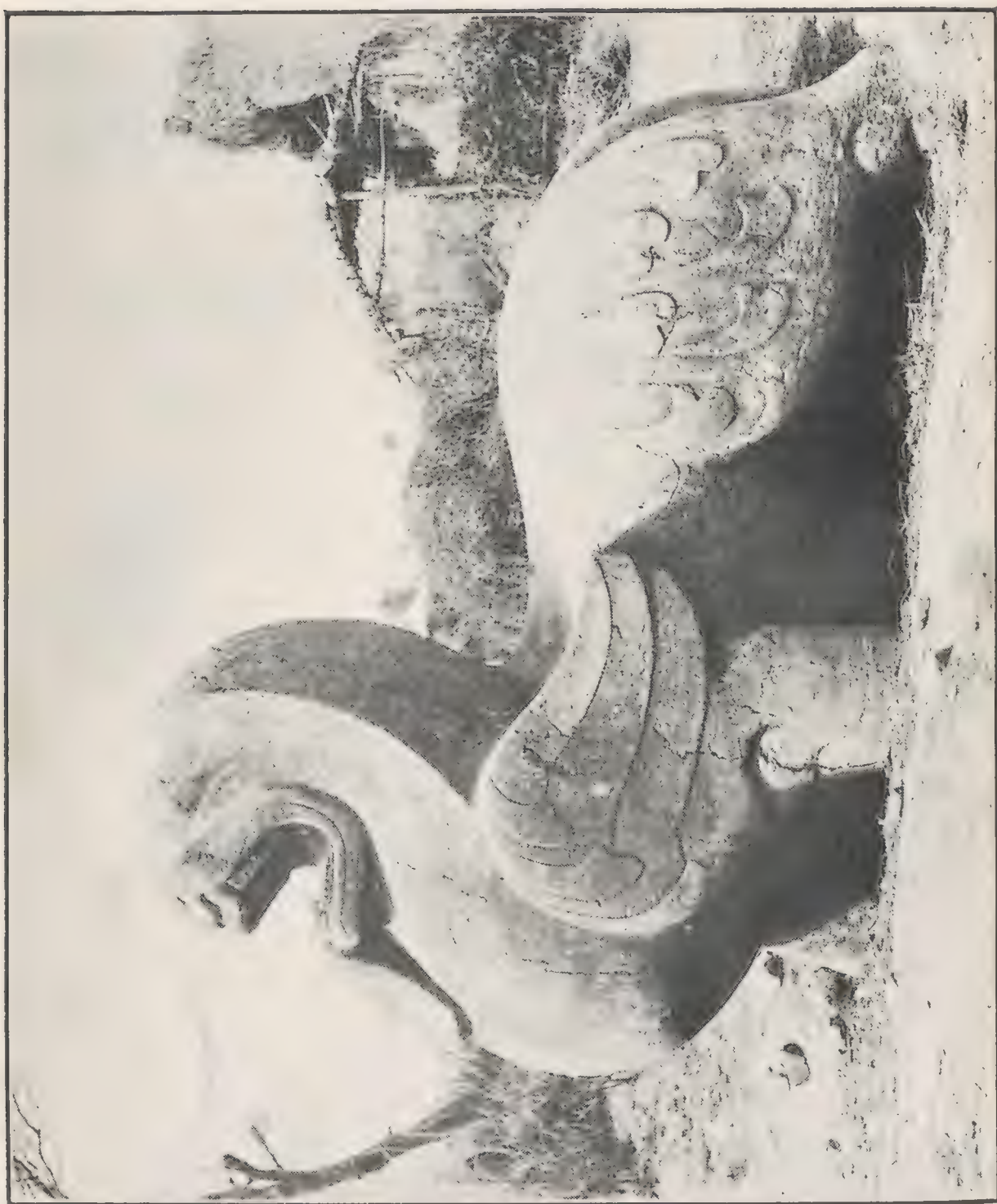


PLATE VI.

But let us proceed; you will find a middle way between the works in feeble relief of the funeral chambers, and the "ronde bosse" of the pillar crownings: for instance the phoenix on the Shen's 沈 pillar at 渠 Ch'ü.¹ This phoenix is, I think, the finest which has ever sprung from the chisel of a Chinese sculptor. In reality it is not a phoenix but the Chu-niao, that is the "red bird" the symbol of the south. It is often met with under the Han, always on the southern aspect of the pillars, but of course it is often more or less grossly shaped; in this instance the general "allure" is excellent; the nervous energy of the lines especially as shown in the legs reminds one of the finish and power of certain French sculptures of the 13th century lately wantonly destroyed. This figure is from the decoration of the shaft of the right pillar of Chen at 渠 Ch'ü-hsien and dates, as is easily ascertained, from the Hou Han, that is the Eastern Han, of the second century of the Christian era.

There are many reasons why one would like to dwell a little longer on the pillars, but I must confine myself, before leaving this monument, to a remark which I will not enlarge upon, but which I hope later on to develop.

These pillars appear suddenly, during the Eastern Han, and only in three provinces, those of Shantung, Honan and Shensi; they disappear under the Minor Han, and *never re-appear* under the succeeding dynasties. Furthermore, it is possible to introduce a certain logical order in the many varying specimens of pillars of which you have only seen two. To explain the matter I need only refer you to Mr. Chavannes photographs of the pillars of Shantung and Honan. These, as a matter of fact, are very different; they are rather poor as far as sculpture is concerned, but very rich in epigraphy and emblematic designs. Their style of architecture is simple, almost rudimentary; yet, on the other hand, certain pillars of Ssü Ch'üan while very poor in inscribed characters, as all they bear is the name of the deceased, (some even nothing at all), are abundantly provided with sculptures, and they are all combined with great architectural development.

You can obtain a series, that is a logical succession of the twenty-eight pillars actually known, if you bear in mind all the previous indications—I mean the architecture, the epigraphy, the sculpture and the geographical position in which they are found. If you draw an imaginary line from the south-west of China to the north-east, the pillars will be found in a well defined procession with the following resting points:—

In the extreme south-west, the pillars of Ya-Chou and Mien-Chou present great architectural and sculptural development, but poor epigraphy.

In the centre, Ch'ü-hsien, sober architecture and sculptural development; increasing epigraphical value.

(¹) Conf. Journal Asiatique Mai-juin 1915.

In the east Honan and Shantung, the wane of all "ronde bosse," but the apotheosis of the written Chinese character.

These are the elements which will, I hope, furnish us with the Key to the mysterious origin of these singular monuments.

* * *

Look now at a proper statue, completely free of the stone. This is the winged tiger from the tomb of Kao Yi 高頤 at Ya Chon 邳州 ⁽¹⁾ You see at a glance, the enormous difference between this animal almost seventeen hundred years old and the horrid specimens of recent dynasties. The neck is strongly thrown back, the chest swells, but what is the most characteristic point, is that the loins are arched higher than the chest; the total impression is one of nobility; and although it is much worn by time, yet it bears witness to that vigour of the Han style which one never forgets if one has once known how to look at it.

Mr. Chavannes suspected the existence of this statue from his perusal of the provincial chronicles, mentioned it to Commandant d'Ollone, who found it at the place indicated; a reproduction on a small scale has already appeared in No. 33 Variétés sinologiques. We have made studies of the statue in a large size and under all aspects.

The tomb of which this statue is an ornament, dates from the year 290 A.D. and is one of the most interesting of the Han period, because it is complete with the exception of the tumulus which has disappeared. We found there two lions, two pillars, of which one is intact, and of a style very similar to that of Ping-Yang at Mien-Chou; furthermore, at a little distance, sheltered in a small village school stands the funeral tablet of the same person, Kao Yi ⁽²⁾.

It is a good example of a stone tablet of Han. Take note of the top, semi-circular in shape, but with a shield placed curiously out of the centre; the tablet is furnished with the hole which is generally found in the tablets anterior to the T'ang dynasty. At the base, you will see two beasts, probably a dragon and a tiger placed in the corners in very characteristic attitudes. The tablet is nearly nine feet high.

Ssü Ch'üan has furnished us with several types of winged tigers. You see one of an entirely different shape, or rather placed in quite a different position. You will realize that the beast is sitting on its haunches. The poor animal has lost his head, his chest, and fore legs, but what is left is rather good. The style of the wings, the vigorous modelling of the hind-quarters enable you to recognize the stamp of the Han.

(1) Conf. Variétés Sinologiques No. 33 Tombeaux des Liang.

(2) Conf. Journal Asiatique—Mai-juin 1915.

I have long tried to find a human statue, and I have had, at the same moment, the luck and the misfortune to succeed. It was a man, carved in stone, of great size, decapitated, lying head-long with the chest towards the ground, and in such a terrible state of preservation, that I could not bring myself to take any reproduction of it, nor would I try to lift it up. The very fact of its existence and the place where it was found, (near the pillars of 渠 Ch'ü hsien) proves that the Han have treated the human figure in a great style, which by the way is confirmed by the texts.

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And now you will observe that all these statues, all these pillars, date without exception from the Hou Han, Posterior Han, and even a few from the Shu or Minor Han; the tiger of Kao Yi dates from 209 after Christ, the pillar of Fêng Huan 馮煥, the most ancient in Ssü Ch'üan, from 121 A.D. The fragments of the lions which have been taken out of the ground at Chia Hsiang hsien 嘉祥 in Shantung date from 147 A.D. Briefly, no important monument of stone is prior to the Christian era.

It was neither Ssü Ch'üan, nor Shantung or Honan, but the valley of the ancient Wei which was to give our expedition the privilege, not only of approaching the time of Christ, but even of going beyond it. This was by the discovery of a funeral statue, no longer belonging to the Hou Han, but to the Ch'ien Han, that is the anterior Han; and which can be exactly determined as dating from 117 *Before Christ*; that is to say more than two hundred years older than the most ancient stone monument in "ronde bosse" hitherto known in the Far East.

Here it is¹ it may be called the unsaddled charger trampling on a Hiung-Nu Barbarian, from the tomb of Ho Ch'ü Ping 霍去病.

You will at once observe that this statue is striking on account of its archaic form, the rudeness and bold simplicity of its contours. You will also notice that for the first time in Chinese style of full "ronde bosse" we have to do with a group.

As a matter of fact, what you see between the legs of the horse, is a man—a man thrown on his back, trampled on, conquered, yet a man still defending himself. The head,—that is the form between the forefeet of the horse, is seen from the side, lying backwards, with a large round and flat eye, an abundant beard, which goes upward, and sticks to the breast of the animal. The nose no longer exists, but the ear, which is very large, is perfectly preserved. Under the belly of the horse, you can follow the curve of a bow, held by a solid fist, a strong

(¹) Journal Asiatique—Mai-juin 1915.

muscular arm, the left arm of the Barbarian. Behind the hind-leg of the horse, you see the leg of the man whose foot, with its outspread toes, seems to grasp the tail.

On the other side of the statue I could distinctly see the right arm of the man, the hand holding a short pike, stuck into the belly of the horse. The horse itself is massive; its form is rather roundish, but nevertheless of true sculptural effect. There is no trace whatever of wings; it is not a fabulous beast; it is not a monster which the artist has wanted to express, but a very real charger battling with a man, and this man a barbarian, a Hiung-Nu, Hun-Nu to be exact; the Huns of the Han civilisation.

This statue which does not resemble any latter motives, does not on the other hand evoke any direct foreign influence, neither Persian, nor Chaldean or Assyrian, and that in spite of the ferocity of the scene.

Far from that, the very ferocity is perfectly explained by the purpose of the monument; Ho Chü Ping 霍去病 a young general of cavalry, died at the age of twenty-four after admirable exploits in far distant Central Asia. He was really the "trampler-down" of the Hiung Nu, of whom he did away with one hundred thousand, at the head of his light riders. This purely Chinese scene does represent, in reality, the victories which this young hero won over the Hun Barbarians.

The authenticity of the statue is born out by the complete agreement of the various texts on this subject which may be consulted, in the provincial and local chronicles,—furthermore, a tablet, from the time of Ch'ien Lung, is furnished with the official inscription.

漢驃騎將軍大司馬冠軍侯霍公去病墓

"Tomb of Ho Chü-Ping, who in the time of Han, had the titles of general of the valiant horsemen, great minister, Marquess of Kuan Chün."

But there is more than that. Ssü-ma Ch'ien, the great historian, expressly states when writing about the death of Ho Chü Ping that the Emperor Han Wu Ti would himself provide his sepulture.

He writes "The Emperor ordained that the tumulus should resemble the 祁連山 mountains." Let me say that the 祁連 Ch'í Lien mountains, situated in Central Asia, represent the scene of the exploits of our hero, and for that reason the tumulus was covered with enormous blocks of stone. Among all the tumuli which I have had occasion to examine, this is the only one which is furnished with such a system of stone blocks, which are still found, scattered on all sides and right to the top of the tumulus.

I am therefore of the opinion that this statue can be cited as an example of *Pure Chinese Archaic Sculpture*; not only on account of its date, being anterior to all the influences which we shall have to eliminate, but by its very style and its historical meaning.

* * *

But let us leave the Ch'ien Han, and return to the Shu Han, in Ssü Ch'üan so as to present to you, en passant, the elements of a curious problem; I mean the origin and the intended use of the numerous caves which are hewn in the slopes of the hills of the Min river, and its affluents. The Chinese call them; "Man Tung 蠻洞, that is caves of the Man Tzŭ aborigines. Mr. Baber of the British Consular service, who travelled extensively in Ssü Ch'üan, nearly thirty years ago, made interesting investigations about them and came to the conclusion that these caves were "*excavations—of unknown date, undertaken for unexplained purposes, by a people of doubtful identity.*" Afterwards, the European travellers, missionaries or merchants repeated from the Chinese sayings that they were Man Tung, caves of the Man Tzŭ.

There was, however, one exception, to whom justice must be rendered, namely Mr. Torrance, whom we had occasion to meet at Chêng Tu and who was the first to suggest that these caves might have another origin, and have served as burial places for Chinese. I cannot now thoroughly discuss this problem, I may, however, refer you to the first paper on this subject which we have published in the *Journal Asiatique* (1915) under the title. "*Les Tombes de Falaises au Sseu tch'ouan,*"—and I would like to put before you the two principal elements of its solution.

It must be admitted that many of these caves have no vestige of sculpture. That is undoubted. On the other hand, many others, but these we had to discover, were well ornamented; for instance this great portico¹ with its two entrances. This slide is simply made to give you a general idea of the vastness and the form of the monument, but our drawings and rubbing, furnish all the details. What do you think are the details of the ornamentation with which they supply us? Exactly the same designs and style as the pillars of the Han which you have already seen.

Therefore, first assertion: the ornaments of the Man Tzŭ caves, belong to the school of sculpture which is responsible for the pillars of Han; that is to say, a Chinese school; Chinese artists.

On the other hand the majority of these caves are empty; it is long since they were searched and despoiled; but some of them, although already robbed, still retain their closure and a part of their contents.

I was able to get into one of the caves, (the door of which was intact) by a fall of the rock forming the wall. Here you will see what I discovered: this coffin. Is that still a work of the

(¹) Conf. *Journal Asiatique*—Mai-juin 1915.

Man Tzŭ? Never. This is the pure Han style; we already know this scene, the horse, the two women who are playing a game which is probably a game of dice. Please also notice on the left side the animal, a stag, running away with a person of slender form—what is that?—style of the Han (Plate V).

And now the second assertion and final conclusion: these caves called Man Tung are neither caves, nor dwellings intended for the living, but tombs, and Chinese tombs, some of which date back as far as the Han, they must be called: "Cliff tombs of Ssŭ-ch'üan."

Nevertheless, I admit that these Chinese tombs are not, strictly speaking, of a classical style, and before leaving, not to return, the fruitful period of Han, I would like to conduct you, I think for the first time in China, into a real tumulus-tomb of this dynasty; let us go into the private apartment of Lady 繡 Pao, residing at 昭化 Chao Hua hsien, who lived in the first half of the third century after Christ.

The tumulus which is much worn down by rain, had in its corner a collapsed place, where we could easily dig down and uncover a semi-circular vault. When this vault had been freed, we were able to descend into the cave. We found ourselves in a vast chamber which measured 17 feet by 6 feet, with the vault in the style architects call "en berceau." The cave was empty, without trace of a coffin,—and had been violated long ago. But the whole of the wall, which you have before you,¹ was covered with tiles, decorated in various patterns: lozenges, "cash" and especially these horses which one sees harnessed to a cart. You will notice that, with their long slender necks, these horses belong to a type which is very different from the heavy Mongol pony of our day; it also differs from the solid horse of the T'ang. I am of the opinion that these fine animals came from Fergana and that the Occidentals of Bactria sent them either as tribute or as gifts to the great dynasty of China.

We did not find any other relics by closely examining the ground, with the exception of the frontal bone of the Lady Pao—it was, unfortunately, unable to disclose to us any of her secret thoughts.

* * *

We must now descend in time and arrive at the Tsin 晉 dynasty, 4th century A.D. I do not know of any statue which can be placed here.

Fortunately we now arrive at the Nan Pei Chao period. "The Northern and Southern Dynasties" (5th and 6th centuries A.D.) It was during this period that China was literally cut in two. The legitimate dynasties succeeded to the throne at Nanking, under the style of Sung 宋, Chi 齊, Liang 梁, and Ch'ên 陳.

(¹) Conf. Journal Asiatique—Mai-juin 1915.



PLATE VII.



PLATE VIII.

The monuments here are abundant, homogeneous, well grouped and form one of the finest schools of great statuary art ever produced in China,—of which the masterpiece is, without doubt, the grand winged lion of the Liang. (Plate VI). To tell the truth, this has nothing to do with our excursion in 1914, but it so happens that I have quite recently had occasion to make a thorough study of these lions. (I could not very well omit to show you in their proper place, in this rapid sketch of the Great Statuary of China, a series of these exceptional and characteristic monuments).

You will observe the powerful yet elegant “stylisation” of the leonine type. The mane is divided into two parts by a central ray, and the two oviform masses fall behind the ears, and reach down to the round of the back. The two sides of the mane, forming a curved ridge, concave forwards, finely accentuated by the play of light and shadow, give to the profile a very characteristic carriage—which up to date I have rarely seen so well defined in a sculpture representing a lion.

The fulness of the chest counterbalances the masses of the mane. The wing is short, sober, well attached to the movement of the shoulder. The line of the back, the massive hindquarters, are at the same time supple and robust. Flat ornaments decorate the croup. The animal, if seen three-quarters from behind, is not less effective. (Plate VII). One sees the whole of the two oviform masses which constitute the mane, and the ray, but what is remarkable, is that the hindquarters seem almost to move in complete harmony with the rest. The whole statue seems to depend on one single oblique movement as of a “pacer,” which advances the right legs, and draws back the left; bending the rump, in order to follow the line of the muzzle which turns slightly towards the left. Only a great sculptor is capable of producing this unity of attitude in a subtle movement. To re-produce adequately these masterpieces it is necessary to devote many hours to their study, and to expend upon them many plates. One must continually walk around the same animal, watching the incidence of the shifting light, in order not to deform these masses in reducing them to a flat surface, in black and white.

It is the R. P. Gaillard, S. J., a missionary stationed at Nanking, to whom is due the credit of having first identified the majority of the Liang statues, and to whom their great artistic merit especially appealed. Unfortunately he died before being able to publish the result of his researches. Mr. Chuta Stô, a Japanese, prepared a paper on the subject which appeared in the *Kokka review* for June 1909; furthermore, Père Mathias Tchang, who assisted the R. P. Gaillard in his researches, published a monograph on one of these tombs, that of Hsiao Hsuen Chih 蕭順之 (in No. 33, *Variétés Sinologiques*). This work which contains a very good

genealogical table of the Siao family, and a map of the Imperial Tombs of Nan Chao, has been of great value to me in the researches which I have recently made in regard to these monuments.

Near the lions and at the same tombs, you see two other objects of quite a different kind, namely the tortoises, bearing tablets; and the columns. The tablet is very characteristic of the Liang period; flat with a rectangular shield, and a hole. The tortoise is very different from the numerous specimens which were produced to excess under the Ming. Here the animal preserves its suppleness,—the various round masses of which it is formed, are indeed of graceful sweep.

The column of the Liang. In the history of Chinese sculpture, here is the most unexpected, the most unwonted object. You see that from a base, ornamented with dragons, springs a shaft which is *fluted*. It is surmounted by a crowning of mushroom shape, in which one recognizes a lotus flower. On the top, a lion cub; finally, a large rectangular shield protrudes on both sides of the shaft and carries an inscription. The meaning of these inscriptions is similar to the corresponding ones on the funeral pillars of Ssü Ch'üan. I mean they only contain the names and titles of the deceased, and always terminate with the expression "shen tao" 神道 soul's road. But frequently, here, the calligraphy is astounding; either the characters are inverted, as if seen in a mirror, or they are written from the left to the right instead of vice versa.

To explain in a few words the origin of these remarkable monuments and of this extraordinary writing, is quite beyond me. That would demand more time than you could spare me to night. I will therefore, with your permission, continue.

The winged lions are, as a rule, under the Liang dynasty reserved for the tombs of princes, the tumuli of the emperors being generally marked with an animal which I dare not and must not place among the noble leonine family; here is the Chimera from the resting place of the Emperor Ch'i Wu Ti 齊武帝.

Just as I was pleased to draw your attention to the noble mien of the lions, so I am ashamed to introduce to you such a ridiculous silhouette. Nevertheless it dates from the last year of the fifth century, and is the only witness of the sculptural art of the Ch'i dynasty. This I show you as the ancestor of all the monstrous things which we call in French "chinoiseries," and which crowd the shelves of the curio dealers.

But let us now for the first time ask the question, where does this double family hail from, and whither do they go? To reply to this question it is evidently necessary to interrogate, amongst the four southern dynasties, those which are immediately anterior and those which are posterior; that is, before the Ch'i, the dynasty of Sung, 宋 and after the Liang, the dynasty of Ch'ên 陳.

That is what I resolved to do in order to complete the study of this school of sculpture; I began by the last dynasty, the Ch'ên, of whom the chronicles indicated some remains in the place called Shê-ma-ch'ung, a few hours walk east of Nanking.

I have just mentioned that, as a rule, the Chimeras were reserved for the graves of Emperors and the Lions for the tombs of Princes; and as Shê-ma-ch'ung was indicated as the burial place of the Emperor Ch'ên Wu Ti, I expected to find some typical Chimeras. You may judge my astonishment when I met at this very place with a pair of animals, which were neither lions nor chimeras, but bastards of both. They date from 559 A.D. One thus sees, barely twenty years after the culmination of the Liang school of sculpture, the rapid degeneration of this style. I asked myself with some uneasiness, if similar researches, but in the other direction; (I mean backward in time, and before Liang and Ch'i) would not lead me to the same deception. The chronicles indicated the existence of Chi or Kylin? near the tomb of the Emperor Sung Wên Ti who died 453 A.D., situated in the country east of Nanking. The expression Kylin does not signify any defined species of animal, it extends from the lion through the horse to the cow. It was, therefore, with a considerable amount of expectation that I recently went to see it. I found the beast hidden in the ground up to the shoulders. I at once recognized a chimera, but no longer a ridiculous chimera. I was accompanied by my friend Dr. Paul Vitry, Curator of Sculpture of Mediaeval Times and the Renaissance of the Musée du Louvre, and with his help I liberated the statue in a short time, more especially the chest and the left side: a fine morsel of sculpture, indeed. Plate VIII.

Undoubtedly the neck has neither the force nor the attitude of the leonine, but it is not frail as the chimeras of Ch'i and Liang. The chest, which is moderately projected, is of a graceful curve, well calculated as it is round without being soft. The upper part of the head, as well as the upper jaw was made of a separate stone, held in place by a bolt, which can still be seen; as a consequence, the statue was not a monolith as are all the others.

The wing is not here, so to say, glued on, but cowl the whole front part of the shoulder. At first scaly, it continues in six large plumes, separated, but well united in their totality with the diverse movements of the back, flank and belly. From this wing issue long supple scrolls, which descend to the feet. The statue is made of fine marble and is nine feet long.

This is, in its reputable archaism (it dates from about 453 A.D.) the chimera of the tomb of Sung Wên Ti. This is about seventy years older than the lions of Liang. He represents the only known sculpture on stone in "ronde bosse" dating from the Sung—first dynasty of the Nan Ch'ao—and thus partly fills the

great gap which stretches from the Shu Han 蜀漢 to the Liang, (from the 3rd to the 6th century of the Christian era.)

* * *

From the Liang to the Ch'ên, we descend to the Sui dynasty; but without finding any important example of Chinese statuary. To meet again with noteworthy examples of this art we must come down to the T'ang.

I am sure that instead of the "T'ang" you have been expecting to hear another name which automatically presents itself in this place; namely, Wei, 魏 the Northern Wei dynasty. And in reality the Wei, anterior to the Liang, have covered entire mountain sides with their sculptures, roughly carved on the rocks; especially at Yun Kang in Northern Shensi and at Lung Mên in Honan. The Northern Chou 周 and the Sui 隋 followed in their steps and we found in Ssü Ch'üan, besides many sanctuaries of the T'ang a certain number of grottos with votive images, some dating from Sui.¹ You may ask why I have not mentioned all this? The reply is simple; it is understood that I am speaking to you to-day about the *grand Chinese sculpture*; and that all, Wei, Pei-Chou, Sui, etc. is Buddhist art-industry, an imported article; which I do not hesitate to call "un-Chinese;" even more: opposed to the real Chinese genius.

I am well aware that in saying this, I oppose myself to the general opinion, which considers Buddhism in China, in all its manifestations, as the great teacher of both morals and art. Certainly, I do not deny the enormous influence of Buddhism in China; I do not deny that some of its productions, even in sculpture in China, are fine works of art;—for instance the Northern Wei figures at Lung Mên. I only insist upon this (and I shall have good reason to develop it in future works) that I consider Buddhism, here, in all its manifestations, as the *supreme heresy of Chinese thought*.

Nevertheless if you wish to see some examples of art which, without being Buddhistic, approaches the propaganda of this faith, I will show you the procession of "lady-donors"² which I found on the walls of the Buddhist grottos at the temple of Hsi Shan Kuan, 西山觀 at Mien Chou, 綿州 Ssü Ch'üan. You recognize here the elegant lines of the Chinese drawing. In spite of the rather late epoch (8th or 9th century) this little procession is related to the cortèges of donors of the Ping Yang cave at Lung Mên, which themselves are affiliated, not to any Buddhist inspiration, but to the brush strokes of the old Chinese masters.

* * *

If we try to find examples of sculpture in "ronde bosse" during the T'ang period, we are confronted with the long

(¹) Conf. Journal Asiatique 1916.

(²) Conf. Journal Asiatique Mai-Juin 1915.



PLATE IX.

funeral avenues of the imperial mausolea, and already the decadence has set in. The forms are becoming heavy and vague. On the other hand one often meets a masterpiece, for instance the "Six Famous Steeds" from the tomb of T'ang T'ai Tsung. An excellent re-production has appeared in the albums of Prof. Chavannes expedition, and I would refer you to this.

As a set off I can show you under its principal aspects a good specimen, excellently preserved and of a style which can in no way be compared to that of the funeral monuments of the same and later periods; it is the winged horse from the tomb of T'ang Kao Tsung, dated 683 A.D.

Prof. Chavannes had during his expedition in 1907 already noticed the head of the horse which was only partly free of the ground; but at that time the political conditions did not permit of any attempt at excavation. We were allowed to excavate it, and assisted by the sub-prefect and soldiers, we liberated it in a few hours. Little by little appeared from the ground the animal which you now see (Plate IX).

Two things are noteworthy; the modelling of the head, and the elegance of the wings. The head, treated at the same time in a simple, yet precise manner, is the head of a horse; it is of no consequence that the Chinese call it "Fei Lung Ma," flying-dragon-horse, nor is it of importance that it has a broken horn between the ears. From a sculptural point of view, it is a horse materialized in stone, which anyone, who is fond of horses, will recognize.

You see that the animal has all four legs broken. It was thrown from its base by an earth-quake, referred to by the annals of the Ming dynasty. Happily, the base is only a few feet from the horse, and the statue as such can easily be re-constructed. I hope one day to place it again in its original state.

As a work of art it teaches a good lesson. Disappeared is the free archaicism of the Han; disappeared the strength of the great Liang Lions. But these two qualities have been transformed into a modelling of perfect science. Look at the wings; the stroke of the chisel is that of a master, so pure that one would say the chisel of the Greeks. Note also the suppleness with which the wing is connected with the shoulder, or rather, how it spreads out from the pit.

Finally the head alone. The fluted forehead, the carriage of the neck, the stylization of the mane are so many examples of an art which has reached its accomplishment, and which should have been able to produce everything.

I am somewhat ashamed to have to admit that this art which ought to have been able to produce everything,—has produced, nothing;—that is to say nothing known. It is at this very moment that commences, not the decadence, but the great fall and

decay. It is true that, under the Sung, one finds, from time to time, some interesting specimens; but of such an impersonal manner of making, that one feels instinctively that the maker is no longer an artist, but a workman, paid by the day to reduce blocks of stone into the shape of animals.

I will spare you the sight of these wretched objects. Until the day arrives when new discoveries have proved the aesthetic value of the statuary art of the Sung, it will be better not to waste time over them.

As regards the Ming, the less said the better. First of all, its monuments are too well-known; all the globe trotters have seen and snap-shotted and, what is more unpardonable, have admired them. I must admit that the sites chosen by the Ming are magnificent, but at this moment I speak of sculpture alone.

Let me terminate this causerie, and at the same time the series of slides by the winged horse of T'ang Kao Tsung. All that I could add would only distort in your memory the pictures which you have so kindly allowed me to show you.

FOUR EXAMPLES OF CHINESE BRONZE STATUARY.

J. C. FERGUSON, PH.D.

As in Greece and Egypt, the earliest specimens of sculpture or statuary of human figures in China now known, are wood images.¹ These are referred to by Mencius as having been buried with the dead. In Mencius Bk. I, Ch. IV (Legge) Confucius (Chung Ni) said: "Was he not without posterity who first made wooden images (to bury with the dead) because he made the semblances of men and used them (for that purpose). What shall be thought of him who causes his people to die of hunger?"² This severe condemnation by Confucius was not pronounced against the work of artizans in making good wood figures, but against the use of these figures to incite people to the practice of burying living persons with the dead. This horrible practice is said to have been inaugurated at the time of the burial of Wen Kung³ B.C. 558. We have no records of the quality of work in the making of these wooden images, and no specimens are known to exist at the present time, but it was probably of a high order, otherwise it would not have been misused as a stimulus to the practice of burying the living.

Earlier than these images were the "pictured robes" referred to in the Shi King Pt. I, Bk. IV, Ode III (Legge) as worn by Hsuan Chiang.⁴ These "pictured robes"⁵ are explained in the Shu King, Pt. II, Bk. IV, Ch. I, 4 (Legge) as being figures of "the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountains, the dragon and the rooster—all painted (on the upper garment); the temple vessel, aquatic grass, fire, grains of rice, the hatchet and stripes of back and blue—all embroidered (on the lower garment)".⁶ These twelve decorations of official robes are thus carefully described, but there is no reference in them to any human figure. Again in the Shu King Part IV, Bk. VIII, Pt. 1,

¹ 俑

² 仲尼曰始作俑者其無後乎爲其象人而用之也如之何其使斯民飢而死也

³ 文公

宣姜

⁵ 象服

⁶ 予欲觀古人之象明星辰山龍華蟲作會宗彝藻火粉米黼黻絺繡

Wu Ting¹ tells of a dream in which a wise minister was presented to him. In the morning he "depicted minutely the appearance of the man, and caused a search to be made for him according to his likeness". This was also a sketch or drawing according to the comments of the "Daily Explanation".² It thus appears that apart from bronzes, the only artistic expression known to the Shu King and Shih King was that of painting and embroidery, and there is no reference to statues of human figures.

In early bronzes, all of the twelve forms of decoration referred to in the Shu King are found.

According to a poetical reference by Ssü Ma Hsiang-ju (B.C. 170) "bronze was used in the making of door-knockers as ornaments for doors. Dragons, snakes, and other forms of animal life, were modelled and a round ring suspended from their mouth".³

In addition to such decorative designs, there are many animal forms which I have seen, such as recumbent horse, recumbent cow, pig, unicorn, deer and camel, besides bird forms. These must be considered as earlier than the wood images mentioned by Mencius, and are the most ancient form of Chinese statuary now known to us.

Contemporaneous with these early bronze statues are carvings upon jade among which may also be found carvings of the human figure on sceptres such as the Hsin Kuei⁴ and on pendants of which the collection of the famous scholar Wang I-jung⁵ had two examples which I have seen. Statuary of animal figures in jade were common and represent all of the various forms found in bronze.

The term "bronze cow"⁶ is found in the names of many places such as the West Lake⁷ near Hangchow which is also called Chin Niu Hu; in Ch'angchow (Kiangsu Province) there is a pond called Chin Niu T'an, and in Wuchang there is a hill called Chin Niu Shan. These names may be understood from a poem by Li Po in which he says: "In the Ts'in Dynasty the road to Ssuehuan passed the Bronze Cow"⁸. This was the name of a pass between Shensi and Ssuchuan Provinces. It was an ancient custom to cast bronze statues of a recumbent cow and place it on a mountain as a controlling geomantic influence on currents of water. This is also one of the earliest forms of statuary known to have been made.

There was a custom in ancient times of casting bronze figures of men or animals and placing them in a court-yard or at the entrance of a palace or temple.

¹ 武丁.

² 日講.

³ 司馬相如賦注曰古以金爲鋪首飾諸門上作龍蛇或諸獸形用以銜環

⁴ 信圭.

⁵ 王懿榮.

⁶ 金牛.

⁷ 西湖.

⁸ 李白詩秦關蜀道置金牛

In the Kuo Ts'in Lu written by Chia I¹ (2nd Cent. B.C.) it is said that "Shih Huang Ti collected all the bronze weapons at Hsien Yang (modern Ch'ang-an Hsien, Hsi-an Fu) melted them and caused them to be cast as twelve bronze men setting them up at the entrance of his palace"! In the Hsi Ching Tsa Chi²—a record of miscellaneous events of the Han Dynasty occurring at Ch'ang-an Fu (modern Hsi-an Fu)—the height of these figures is given as three feet, this being the height in all probability above the pedestal. These statues were called Chin Ti³ or bronze barbarians according to a reference in the poetical collection of Chang Heng⁴ (A.D. 78-139). It was probably the knowledge of these figures which caused Ming Ti of the later Han Dynasty to dream of bronze men more than ten feet high, and to inquire from his statesmen the interpretation of his dream. "Some said there is a god in the west called Buddha".⁵ From this time arose the custom of making religious images in China.

Another Emperor named Ming Ti of the Wei Dynasty (A.D. 516-528) on a journey to Ch'ang-an could find no trace of these statues, whereupon he purchased bronze and caused statues to be cast which were called Weng Chung.⁶ He thus followed out the ancient custom of creating statues in noted buildings.

In the "Family Sayings"⁷ it is narrated that when Confucius went to Chow, he visited the Hou Chi temple (the ancestral temple of the founder of the Chow dynasty) and saw bronze men at the right of the altar. Their mouths were thrice bound up. Confucius wrote an inscription on the back of the figures "These were the men of ancient times who were careful of their words." These bronze figures were earlier than bronze statuary in Greece which was first produced B.C. 575-525, and at least one hundred years earlier than the great sculptor Phidias.

To summarize, it will be seen from the foregoing that in China before the Christian Era, there were wood figures, figures in jade, bronze statues of men and many bronze figures. Owing to the ravages of war, these early specimens of statuary in wood and bronze have all disappeared and our only hope of ever seeing any specimens of them, is in future works of excavation and exploration. As Ming Ti in the sixth century after Christ could not find any trace of Shih Huang's bronze statues of the third century before Christ, much more we of the present time are left without examples of this early art and must await archeological exploration.

¹ 賈誼過秦論。始皇收天下之兵聚之咸陽銷鋒鑕鑄以爲金人十二

² 西京雜記 咸陽宮有銅人十二枚坐皆高三尺

³ 金狄。 ⁴ 張衡。

⁵ 後漢書 明帝夢金人長丈餘以問羣臣或曰西方有神曰佛

⁶ 翁仲。

⁷ 家語 孔子觀周入后稷之廟右陛之前有金人三緘其口而銘其背曰古之慎言人也

The earliest examples of bronze statuary known to me was found in the autumn of 1915 in the border of San Yuan Hsien,¹ a city about twenty-five miles north of Hsi-an Fu, the capital of Shensi province. A farmer named Chiang² was digging a pond when he ran across an old grave, and lying in the vicinity of the grave were four bronze figures. These were: (a) a unicorn, (b) a statue of Wei To, and (c) two heavenly kings or guardians of Buddha.³ These figures were brought to Peking and were acquired by me.

The unicorn (Fig. I) is the earliest of the four figures and probably was cast during the later Han Dynasty (2nd cent. A.D.) or during the revolutionary period of the northern and southern dynasties, (5th and 6th cent. A.D.). The bronze from which it was cast appears to be of the same quality as bronze vessels of the Han dynasty, which has led me to the belief that the figure was produced from bronze obtained by the melting down of old bronze vessels. This custom we know prevailed at different periods of Chinese history. The original core over which this figure was cast remains inside and has been carefully examined by me. The frame work is of reed grass, closely packed and covered with core sand and clay. It was cast in a mould covered with wax. The chaplets used for separating the core from the mould are easily seen.

The early literary descriptions of an unicorn say that it resembles a deer in body but has the tail of an ox and the hoofs of a horse. It has one fleshy horn. It is spotted on the back, and is yellow on the belly. It has scales. It will not tread on green grass or on any living thing. It is the symbol of goodness and benevolence, and is said to have appeared previous to the death of Confucius.

The figure is a striking one. The head is turned backward and the mouth widely opened as if the beast was braying. Originally there was a figure seated in a squatting posture on the padded cushion on top of the saddle. Tradition represents this figure as Lao-tse. It narrates that Lao-tse on one of his journeys across the mountains was riding an unicorn which he struck with his whip urging it forward. The unicorn turned its head round and said to Lao-tse: "Why do you strike me? I am a living creature just as you are." It is in this posture of remonstrance against its rider that the artist has represented the unicorn. By inverting the photograph, the strength of the head may be seen and also the perfection of the lines of the scraggy mane. The saddle cloth is attached to a collar around the neck and at the rear to a crupper. It is in three layers each of which is richly decorated. Tongues of fire are seen along the sides of the legs, as if the animal were walking through fire.

¹三原縣²姜姓³麒麟 韋駄 二天王



FIG. 1 (a).

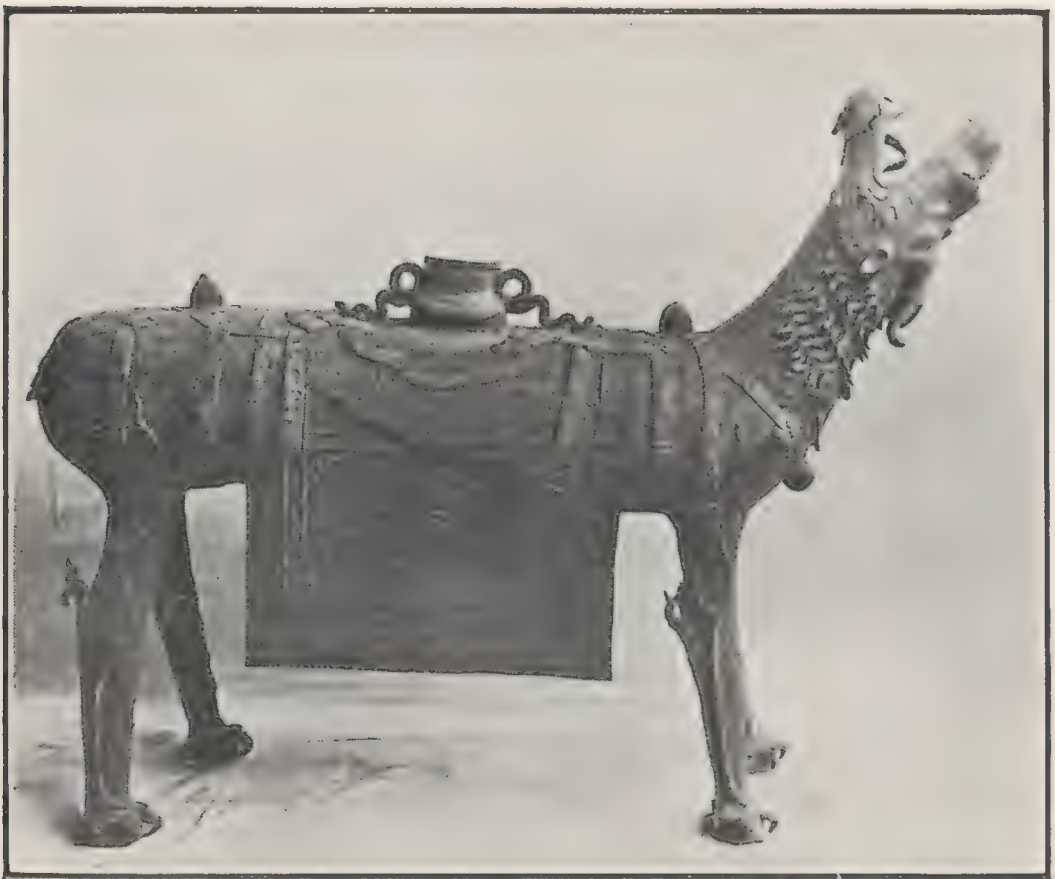


FIG. 1 (b).



FIG. II. FRONT VIEW.

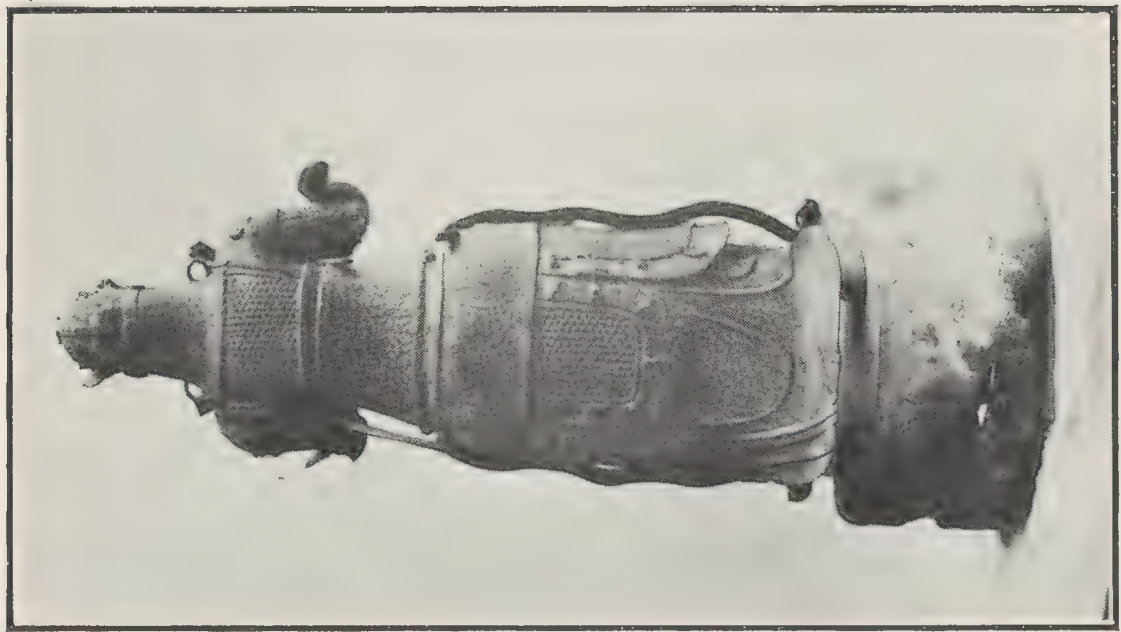


FIG. II. BACK VIEW.

The dimensions of the unicorn are :—

From mouth to tail in straight line,	4' 4''
Height at rear leg,	2' 3''
„ front leg,	2' 3''
From spud to spud,	2' 1½''
Circumference of body in front of saddle,	3' 0''
„ „ „ rear „	2' 11½''
„ „ „ at base of neck,	3' 0''
Opening of jaws,	6½''
Width „	7½''
Length between feet one side,	2' 5''
„ „ other side,	2' 7''

The second figure (Fig II) is that of Wei To¹ Veda described by Eitel (Chinese Buddhism, Page 165) as a fabulous Bodhisattva, the first general in command of the Tchatur Maharadjas. He is a valiant protector of Buddhism, the defensor fidei whose statue with drawn sword is placed at the entrance of every monastery. He is identified in many Buddhistic books as Amogha, a noted Singhalese Buddhist of the T'ang dynasty who followed the school of Vadjra Mati² (an Indian of royal descent who arrived in China A.D. 270 and was called to court). He came to China (Chinese Buddhism, Page 8) A.D. 733 during the reign of K'ai Yuan. Later he returned to India and visited many foreign countries where he obtained more than fifty volumes of the Sutra. In A.D. 746 he returned to China and under the name of Chih Tsang Kuo Shih³ entered the Ts'in Yin temple. He died during the reign of T'ai Tsung (A.D. 763-780). Adoration of this Saint attained great popularity in the T'ang dynasty.

The measurements of this figure are as follows :—

Height,	4' 6''
Circumference at waist,	3' 1''
Height of pedestal,	1' 11''

The face of the figure, like all representations of Wei To, is that of a youth, symbolizing his purity of soul. The figure is covered with a suit of mail or armor. The head is covered with an armet or helmet without visor or chin-piece, leaving the whole face exposed. On either side of the helmet is a phoenix with wings extended. Unfortunately the outstretched wings on the ight-hand side have been broken off. In the center of the helmet on the front side are two snakes with tails twined in the form of a scroll and with heads protruding. Between the bodies of the snakes is a circular disk richly decorated. Below the tails is a cloud-scroll pattern extending laterally between the heads of the phoenixes. The ears are very large and are held close to the head

¹ 韋駄.

² 金剛智.

³ 智藏國師.

by the helmet. The gorget and arm-pit guards are in one piece and are held in place by bands which are knotted in front with the unused ends tucked under the left-hand band. The gorget is decorated with two bands extending in crescent shape above the nipples and on under the armpits. The pauldrons or shoulder-pieces are decorated with tiger heads. There are no passegerdes and no rivets or fastening pins. The rerebraces or upper arm-guards (brassards) are decorated in the form of chain-armor; the vambraces or lower arm-guards are decorated with animal heads from the noses of which, rings with dependent links are hung. These lower arm-guards are gathered tightly around the wrist, leaving the bands uncovered. The hands are uplifted in front of the body in an attitude of devotion, leaving the elbows on a level plane so that a lance could be laid across the arms and extend beyond both sides of the figure. There is no lance-rest, as the lance was placed horizontally across the arms. In some representations of Wei T'o, the lance rests in a guard suspended at the side from the girdle. The elbow-guards are prominent but are not decorated. The cuirass or breastplate has a background of chain over which is a center-piece attached to the gorget. This piece is also in the form of an animal head with suspended ring from which hangs the braconniere or mailed apron. This apron extends to a point level with the ankles, is richly decorated as a shield and has over it two bands hanging from the girdle and tied together in a double-bow knot. The girdle is tight across the hips, but dips in front below the waistline. It is narrow and resembles bossed leather with woolly ringlets hanging from the center. The cuishes or thighguards are very wide and extend well over the cuirass in front and downward over the tops of the sollerets. The decoration is of chain. The sollerets or shoes of mail, are also decorated with an animal head and suspended ring. Over both sides of the figure and springing from the feet is a wide conventional band with three grooves which passes up under the bent arms over the shoulders forming a circlet partly missing back of the head and serving to make more prominent the outlines of the figure.

On the back of the figure the neck-guard, the cuirass and the thigh-guards are decorated with branch-and-leaf scrolls. The gorget and rear apron are decorated with chain.

The pedestal is an excellent piece of casting. It supports the figure by means of four spikes two in each foot. In shape it is meant to resemble a well cut stone, and its grace adds much to the beauty of the figure which it supports.

The other two figures (Figs. III., IV) are those of two heavenly kings¹ or guardians of Buddha. Buddha is represented

¹ 二天王

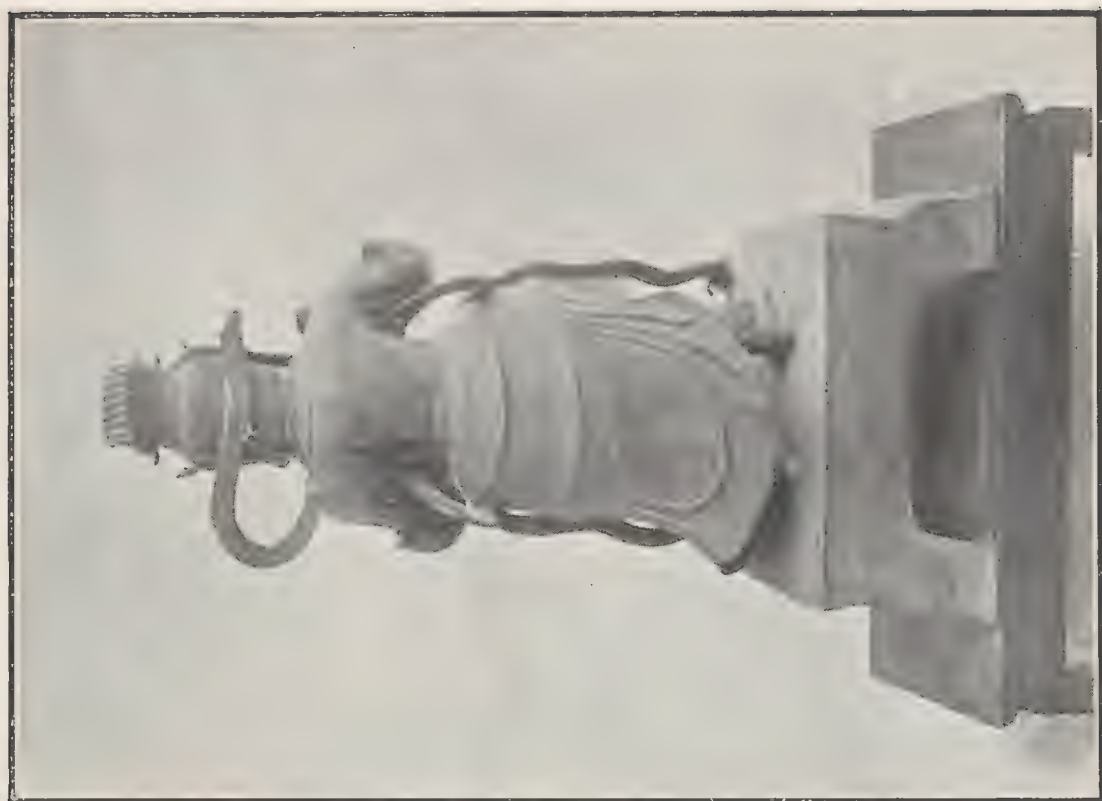


FIG. III. BACK VIEW.

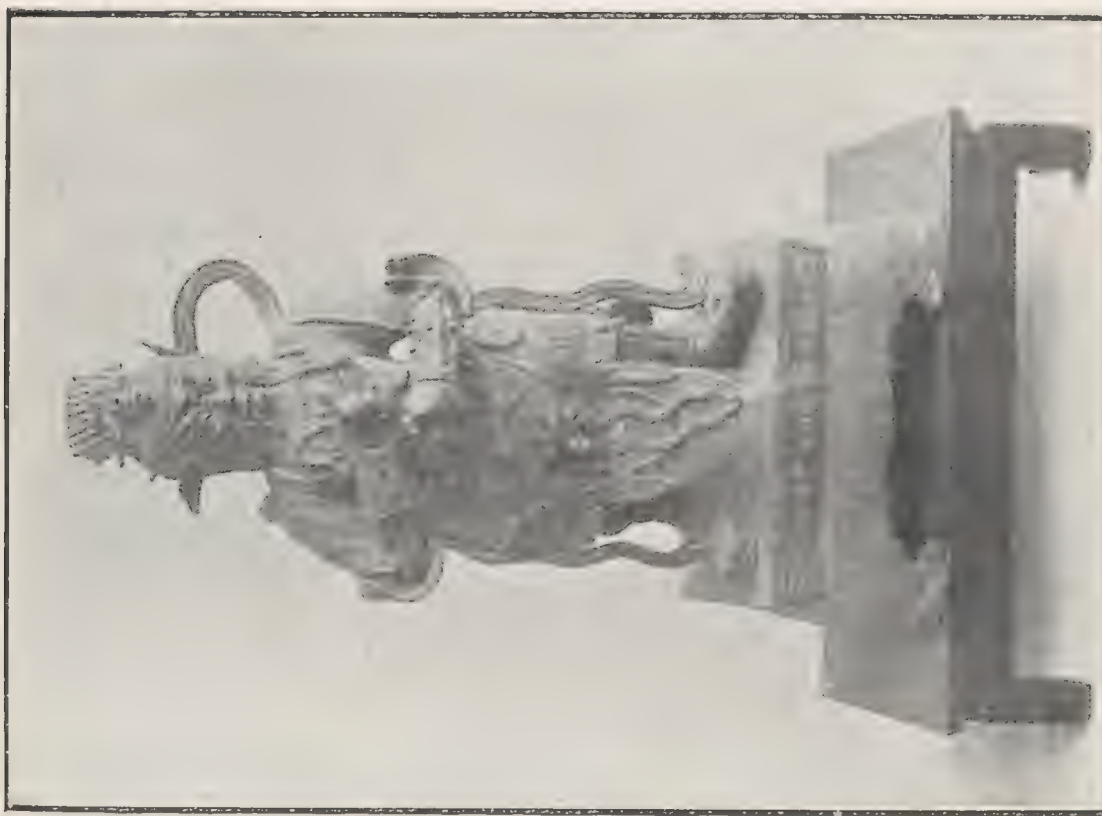


FIG. III. FRONT VIEW.

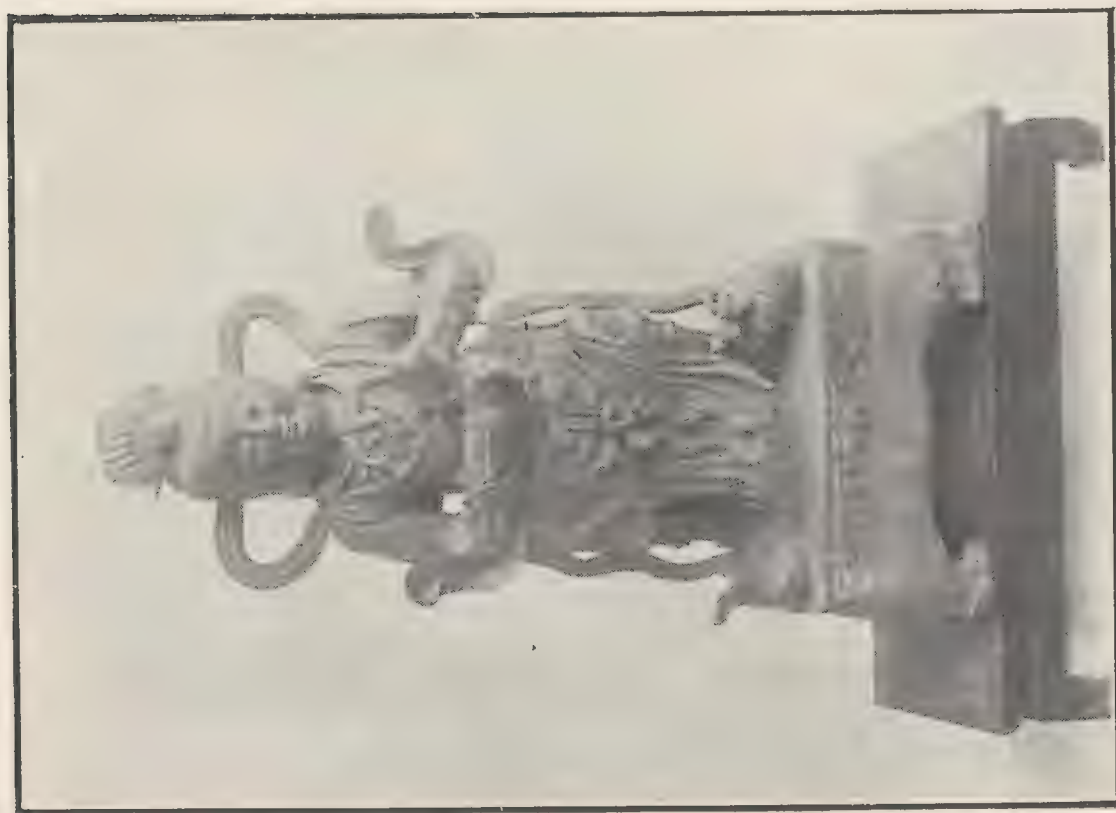


FIG. IV. FRONT VIEW.

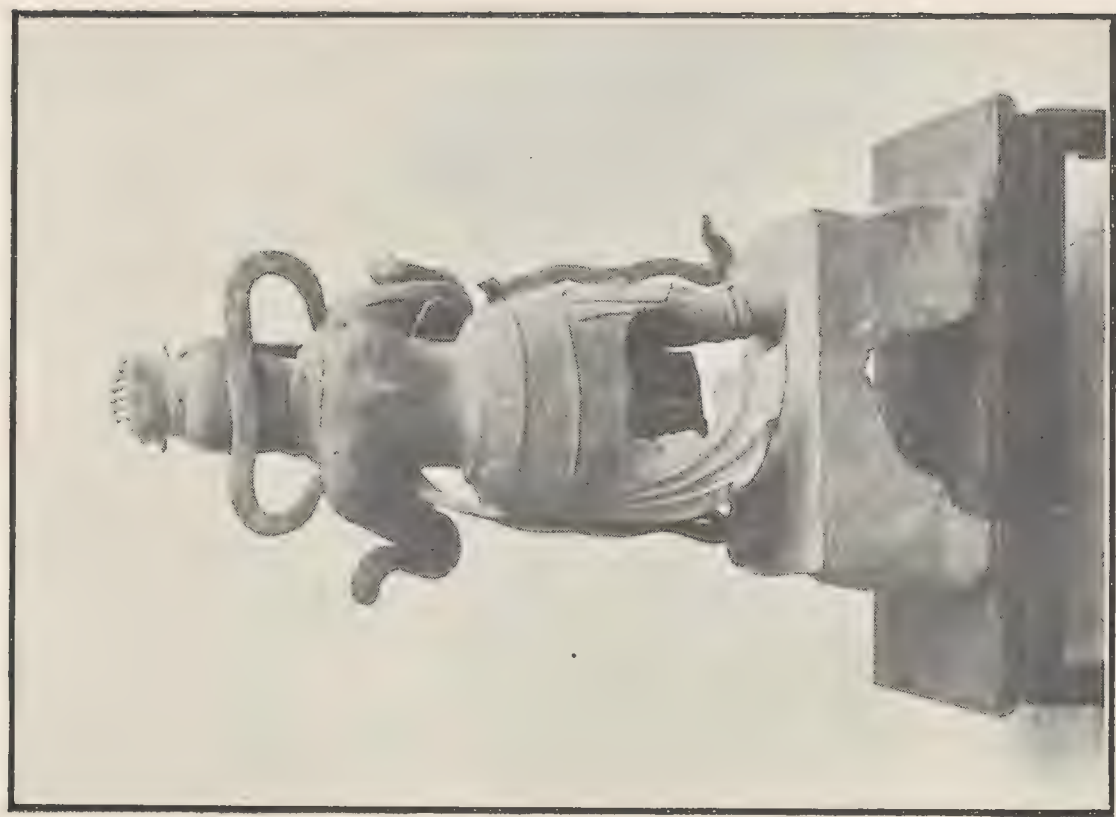


FIG. IV. BACK VIEW.

as having four guardians—Devaradja. (Vide Getty's "Gods of Northern Buddhism," Plate 1.) The eastern is called Ch'i Kuo T'ien Wang—the pillar of the Kingdom; the southern is called Tseng Chang T'ien Wang—the prosperous; the western is called Kuang Mu T'ien Wang—the all-seeing; the northern is called To Wen T'ien Wang—the all-hearing¹. These four were placed in the front courtyard of temples, two on either side, with a statue of Wei To the generalissimo in front of them.

The dimensions of these two figures are as follows :—

Height,	2' 6"
„ of base,	8"
Circumference at girdle,	1' 10½"

The figures of the unicorn and of Wei To were formerly colored vermilion and gilded in certain places. This custom in China, as in Greece, appears to have been general. I have even seen an inscription cut in stone on the back of a Wei dynasty figure, which (inscription) was covered over with a feldspar glaze. Encaustic painting was applied to early wooden figures and traces of color have been found upon many of the earliest stone figures discovered in China. It has not been possible for me as yet to reconstruct the scheme of color decoration on these figures, but I am clear that the face, arm-guards and breast-plate of Wei To and the saddle-cloth of the unicorn were gilded. The mailed apron of Wei To was colored vermilion.

There is no clue as to the artist who produced any one of these four figures. Indeed the names of early sculptors, in bronze, jade or stone, are not recorded in early Chinese literary records and are only occasionally found on stone tablets or figures. In all cases where names do occur, I have not been able to find any record of the life of the men whose names are given. It is only in the Yuan dynasty, with its devotion to Buddhism, that the first name of a noted sculptor occurs—that of Liu Lan,² after whom an alley near the Kuo Tsu Chien in the north-eastern corner of Peking is named. The bronze statue of Kuan Ti³ in the T'u Ti Miao⁴ in front of the Chien Men, Peking, is reported to have been produced by Liu Lan, and there are traditions of other pieces of his work in the temples of Peking, but I have not been able as yet, to confirm any of these reports. The age of these figures, therefore, must be determined by internal and circumstantial evidence.

The chief evidence is the place where these figures were excavated. As above noted, they were found near San Yuan in Shensi province about twenty-five miles to the west of the capital city, Hsi-an Fu. In the Geography of the T'ang dynasty—

¹ 佛經有四天王東方曰持國天王南方曰增長天王西方曰廣目天王北方曰多聞天王 ² 劉蘭 ³ 關帝 ⁴ 土地廟

T'ang Shu Ti Li Chih,¹ we find that the tomb of Ching Tsung² (825-827) 14th Emperor of the T'ang dynasty, was called Ching Tsung Chuang Ling³ and was situated five li northwest of San Yuan city. This is the exact place where these figures were excavated. In the Topography of Ch'ang An—Ch'ang An Chih,⁴ it is stated that in the country district of T'ai P'ing to the northwest of San Yuan, there was a palace, eight li distance from an Imperial grave in which the heir apparent, Tao Huai,⁵ was buried with his father (Ching Tsung). These two references leave no doubt that the grave from whose temple court-yard these figures were taken, is that of Ching Tsung.

The unicorn appears to be the oldest of the figures. The bronze is without doubt a re-casting from bronze vessels and the style of the figure is that used in the later Han and the period of the northern and southern dynasties. Stone bas-reliefs of these two periods which bear incised dates are in the same style as this figure. Hence the provisional theory of age, which I advance as to this figure is that it is earlier than the building of the temple where it was found and that it was of such good workmanship that it was removed from some other location to be placed in front of the tomb of an Emperor. As to the three other figures, they were cast during the years immediately succeeding the death of the Emperor Ching Tsung, when his tomb was erected. This would be about A.D. 830. The great reputation of Wei To and the high respect paid to him by three Imperial predecessors—Hsuan Tsung, Su Tsung and Tai Tsung,—would account for the large size and the careful casting of this beautiful statue.

Chinese statuary, like that of Egypt, always shows a sense of dignity and culture. However, as it has been associated in statuary of human figures with religious cults, there was little scope for imagination on the part of the artist. Nothing could be introduced which would disturb the serenity of the worshipper or upset the legendary teaching concerning saints or gods. The chief charm of the faces produced is that of complacent serenity—a smile which never degenerates into one of vulgar amusement but is always a reflection of calm resignation. Greater freedom was shown in the treatment of the robes of the figures. These show the same freedom as those found in Chinese paintings of the T'ang dynasty by Wu Tao-tsu,⁶ Chu Yu⁷ and Liu Shan.⁸

It must be remembered that these figures were produced four centuries before Nicola Pisano revived sculpture in Italy, and six centuries before Michael Angelo. Noble in conception, strong in execution and delicate in casting, these four figures represent an advanced stage of Chinese sculpture, as well as being the earliest large examples now known in China.

¹ 唐書地理志 ² 敬宗 ³ 敬宗莊陵 ⁴ 長安志
⁵ 悼懷太子 ⁶ 吳道子 ⁷ 朱繇 ⁸ 劉商

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE TSO CHUAN.

THE REV. H. K. WRIGHT, M.A.

I propose to consider this topic under three main heads.

I.—An account, with exegesis (where necessary), of the principal religious statements found in the Tso Chuan. The number of the unimportant ones is legion, and some of them may be quoted as examples of the stage of religious culture and feeling which they express. But the mass of indiscriminate references to Heaven and its power, to instances of sacrifice and divination and the like, most of them so similar that nothing would be gained by setting down each one, may be sufficiently represented by a few examples.

II.—A classification of these statements, as to the subjects they treat, into the stages of religious evolution they represent, and the like; more particularly with reference to the evidence in them on the question, where lay for the Chinese of that day the seat of authority in religion?

III.—General conclusions and comments on the state of religion among the Chinese of that day as exhibited in this work.

I.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL RELIGIOUS STATEMENTS IN THE TSO CHUAN.

First a word as to the work itself. There has been very little critical work on the text and its meaning in English apart from the labors of Dr. Legge. The vexed question as to the authenticity and integrity of the "*Spring and Autumn Annals*" does not concern us, except in so far as that question affects the commentary on it. But this latter question has not been touched by Dr. Legge, doubtless because the internal evidence for the commentary is so strong. That it could have been written as late as the time of Mencius and not have been affected by Mencius or at least by the influences which affected Mencius it is difficult to believe—cf. Legge, Vol. V, Pt. 2, Prolegomena, P. 28. Legge concludes, in the face of serious difficulties (a "*Gordian Knot*" he calls the question) that "*the evidence which connects and identifies the existing Work (the*

Spring and Autumn Annals) with that made (referred to by Mencius) . . . cannot be rebutted." It is certain at least that the Tso Chuan was completed before the beginning of the first Han dynasty (B.C. 206), when the destructive Ch'in dynasty was out of the way and the burning of the books a thing of the past. And as to its integrity Legge says that with two exceptions "*the mass of it we may safely receive as having been compiled by him from records made contemporaneously with the events.*" These two exceptions both concern possible interpolations from later hands.

(1.) Moralizings which conclude many narratives and are injected into others, generally with the formula, "*the superior man will say,*" (P. 34). This is an important exception and doubtless a reasonable one. Unfortunately it is stated by Dr. Legge in very general terms, and in the body of the work no passages of this character are specified, but only one in the Prolegomena. They are not hard to detect however, but Legge thinks that even these interpretations and interpolations are not later than the Han dynasty (220 A.D.). Moreover, the religious element where important is not often contained in these passages.

(2.) "*A host of passages which contain predictions of the future . . . grounded on divination, meteorological and astrological considerations . . . ; predictions which turn out to be true.*" "*We may be sure,*" says Legge, "*that none of these were made at the time assigned to them in the Chuan.*" (P. 35.) Passing by the fact that this is an *a priori* sweeping statement, we need only note that where such passages touch religious topics, even if not historically credible, they reveal some thing about the state of religion at the time of the composition or final recension of the text of the Chuan. Dr. Legge also concludes in favor of the general *credibility* of the accounts of Tso (P. 33) and doubtless few would dispute him. We assume then that this is the case with regard to the religious element in the work. The religious statements are now given in the order of their occurrence.¹

P. 13, Col. 1. The first religious statement in the book; but as it is preceded by the words "*A superior man² may say*" must be classified as probably late (Han). Tr. : "*when there are intelligence and sincerity, what is grown by the streams in the valleys, by the ponds and in pools, the gatherings of duckweed, white southernwood and pond-weed, in baskets round and square and cooked in pans and pots with the water from standing pools and road hollows, may be presented to the Spirits, and set before Kings*

¹ The passages have been taken from Dr. Legge's work and the references are to the pagination of his translation and not to the text.

² Hereafter S.M. represent these words in the text.

and dukes.”¹ The idea that *intelligence* and *sincerity* are prerequisites to *sacrifice* indicate an advanced stage of religious culture on the part of the writer.

P. 19, Col. 2. Case of religious theatricals, governed by notions of propriety. The reigning Duke of Loo had erected a shrine house at which sacrifice should be offered to the mother of the ducal heir crown prince. As she had been a secondary wife, six instead of eight rows of pantomimes were exhibited in the ceremonies at the conclusion of the work of building the shrine. The Chinese conscience is seen working here with some effect. Propriety to them spelled duty.

P. 33, Col. 1. “*Heaven has sent calamity on Heu:—it must be that the Spirits are not pleased with its lord, and made use of me unworthy as I am, (to punish him). . . . If I live out my days in the land and Heaven then graciously repent of the calamities inflicted on Heu, shall not the lord of Heu again worship at his altars? . . . Since Heaven is manifesting its dissatisfaction with the virtue of Chow, am I able to go on contending with Heu.*” Here follows a “*S.M.*” passage but without reference to religious matters. In the passages above “*Heaven*” is first referred to in this work, but in the same baffling way in which it appears in all Chinese literature. It is not simple Fate, though much like it. It is not a plainly revealed personality, though with some undoubtedly personal attributes. It is a vague Power that controls and orders every thing, the unifying Principle of Chinese—the Confucian—(philosophy and) religion. Beneath it appear the Spirits as particular deities, acting apparently alongside of and in harmony with it. We shall perhaps get light as we proceed on the question of the relation of the two. How can Heaven “*graciously repent*” if not personal? The view is that without permission from Heaven and without pleasing the Spirits, the land will not have freedom and self-rule. Nothing is said here about the *moral* requirement which Heaven and the Spirits make of men (except in last sentence)—so the view of Heaven as irresponsible Fate, or better, irresponsible God, comes in; the contingency of its repentance after the manner of Yahweh must be provided for,—otherwise the earl of Ch’ing would not have hesitated to seize and hold Heu. A study of the character of Heaven as revealed in this work makes it necessary to say that Heaven’s dissatisfaction must have been with *evil* conduct. There is therefore moral requirement involved.

P. 34, Col. 2. The duke of Loo, when a young man, was a prisoner of the Ch’ing nation, and lodged in the house of an officer named Yin. He “*prayed to Chung-woo, the Spirit whose shrine Yin had set up in his house,*” but first he “*bribed Yin.*” Returning with Yin to his native land he set up a shrine to the

¹ As pagination is given readers are referred to Dr. Legge’s translation for the Chinese.

same Spirit, and sacrificed and fasted there yearly. The principle is that Heaven helps those who help themselves!

Note that the spirit of the shrine is here called lord.

P. 46, Par. 7.—An account of the seasonable sacrifices for the year, presumably offered to 天 or 上帝.

P. 48, Col. 2.—extending into P. 49, Col. 1. One of the most important and clear cut of the statements of the precedence of the moral over the ceremonial requirements, in order to gain the goodwill of the spiritual powers. It is put (as is frequently the case throughout the work) in the mouth of a high official. Condensed, it amounts to this: the minister of Suy warns his ruler not to attack the powerful Ts'oo, for "*the condition in which a small State can match with a great one, is when the small one is ruled according to reason and the great one is abandoned to wild excess. . . . Being ruled according to reason is showing a loyal love to the people and a faithful worship of the Spirits. When the ruler thinks only of benefitting the people that is loyal loving of them; when the priests' words are all correct, that is faithful worship. Now our people are famishing and the prince indulges his desires; the priests are hypocrites in their sacrifices:—I do not know whether there are the conditions for success.*" The marquis replied, "*My victims are the best and well fattened; the millet in the vessels is good and all complete;—where is there any want of sincerity.*" Ke Lêang replied, "*the state of the people is what the Spirits regard. The sage Kings therefore first secured the welfare of the people, and then put forth their strength in serving the spirits. Thus when they presented their victims and announced them as large and fat, they meant that the people's strength was all preserved, (here follow a number of similar statements about the other sacrificial offerings). In this way it was that they exerted themselves that the labors of the three seasons should be performed; they cultivated and inculcated the five great duties of society, they cherished and promoted the affection that should exist among the nine classes of kindred: and from this they proceeded to their pure sacrifices. Thus their people were harmonious, and the Spirits sent down blessings, so that every movement they undertook was successful. Now the people's hearts are all at variance, and the Spirits have no lord (i. e. none whom they will serve and serve by blessing). Although you as an individual may be liberal, (in your acts of worship), what blessing can that bring?"*

Whether or not the ancient kings really acted in the superior way imputed to them, the writer has undoubtedly in mind the need for opposing flatly the *ex opera operata* theory of worship, and demands strenuously real sincerity in spiritual acts. It should be noted that this demand for sincerity is applied often to human relations, e.g., P. 59, par. 9.

P. 61, Col. 1.—“*Heaven does not make use of hasty supercilious men*”—moral character imputed to Heaven, words put in the mouth of the wife of the Viscount of Ts'oo.

P. 86, Par. 1.—Dialogue between the Duke of Ts'oo and a villager named Ts'aou Kwei. The duke asserts as his reason for hope of success in fighting the army of Ts'e, first that he shares his clothes and food with others, next that in sacrificial offerings he does not go beyond what is appointed being careful to be sincere. Kwei answered, “*that is but small sincerity; it is not perfect; the Spirits will not bless you for that.*” The duke then said, “*In all matters of legal process, whether small or great, although I may not be able to search them out (thoroughly), I make it a point to decide according to the real circumstances.*” “*That,*” answered Kwei, “*bespeaks a real-heartedness:—you may venture one battle with that.*” Moral character is here attributed to the Spirits who help a ruler because he is just rather than for his sincerity and care in sacrificing.

P. 92, Col. 2.—Although the statement is not religious, it is interesting to note, as throwing further light on the Chinese ideas of (virtue) that an official (presumably) is made to say: “*When men abandon the constant course (of virtue), then monstrosities appear.*”

P. 92, Col. 2.—Then appears a statement from the mouth of another dignitary of State: “*that a subject should not have a double heart is a law of Heaven,*” again imputing morality to Heaven, though not necessarily *personal* morality.

P. 120, Cols. 1 & 2.—The curious tale of the descent of a Spirit, and its reception by the ruler and political moralizings thereon. It begins: “*In the autumn, in the 7th month, there was the descent of a Spirit in Sin.*” Nothing is said of the outward manifestation by which the descent was ascertained; it is significant that it occurred in the 7th month, when Spirits are more active than at other times according to the Chinese. “*King Hwuy asked Ko, the historiographer of the interior, the reason of it, and he replied,—‘When a State is about to flourish, (note the inversion in the name of the Spirits) intelligent Spirits descend in it, to survey its virtue. When it is going to perish, Spirits also descend in it, to survey its wickedness . . .’*” The King then asked what should be done in the case of this Spirit and Ko replied—“*Present to it its own proper offerings, which are those proper to the day on which it came.*” The King did accordingly, and the historiographer went (to Kwoh, and presented the offerings). There he heard that (the duke of) Kwoh had been requesting the favor (of enlarged territory) from the Spirits, and on his return he said, “*Kwoh is sure to perish. The duke is oppressive and listens to Spirits.*” The Spirit stayed in Sin six months, when the Duke of Kwoh caused the prayer-master Ying,

the superintendent of the ancestral temple K'eu and the historiographer Yin to sacrifice to it and the Spirit (promised) to give him more territory. The historiographer Yin said, '*Oh! Kwoh will perish. I have heard that when a state is about to flourish, its ruler receives his lessons from the people; and when it is about to perish, he receives his lessons from Spirits. The Spirits are intelligent, correct and impartial. Their course is regulated by the feelings (?) of men. The slenderness of Kwoh's virtue extends to many things;—how can any increase of territory be obtained?*' "

Comment on this interesting passage may be preceded by a summary statement of the points of chief religious interest: (1) It evidences belief that Spirits descend to dwell with men; (2) that they by their descent indicate the coming either of prosperity or adversity to the land (3) that they are to be sacrificed to; (4) that it is dangerous to be too intimate with them otherwise; (5) that the character of the effect of their coming on the State is determined by the worthiness or unworthiness of the ruler. That is to say, the moral consideration is paramount. The mere fact that the Spirit promises more territory to the duke means nothing if the duke's character as a ruler does not justify the gift. It is interesting too to note what is said of the character of the Spirits, that they are "*intelligent, correct (or just, or right in their acts) and impartial.*" No definite statement is made as to their power or their mutual relations, but incomplete as the picture is, they are superior to the gods of Greece and Rome. The sentence "*Their course is regulated by the feelings of men*" is too free a translation. For "*feelings*" substitute "*character.*"

P. 141, Col. 1.—An instance of reference to blessing on the altars of the land from the aid of a foreign prince:—"From your lordship's favor, the altars of our land and grain may receive blessing." Giles's tr. 徽福 "*doubtful or uncertain happiness,—such as people seek by prayer and worship*", but if that was intended here, it was doubtless for politeness, "*dependent on your caprice.*" Such statements, including all manner of references to the gods or altars of the land and grain, are frequently met in the Chuan.

P. 146, Col. 1.—The old dispute between a ruler and his minister on the question, How obtain the favor of the gods? The duke says: "*My sacrificial offerings have been abundant and pure; the Spirits will not forsake, but will sustain me.*" The minister replies, "*I have heard that the Spirits do not accept the persons of men, but that it is virtue to which they cleave. Hence in the Books of Chow we read, 'Great Heaven has no affections;—it helps only the virtuous [Shoo V. xvii, 4];' and, 'It is not the millet which has the piercing fragrance, it is bright virtue [Shoo V. xxi. 3];' and, again, 'People do not slight offerings,*

but it is virtue which is the thing accepted [Shoo V. v. 3].’ Thus if a ruler have not virtue, the people will not be attached to him and the Spirits will not accept (his offerings). What the Spirits will adhere to is a man’s virtue. If Tsin takes Yu and then cultivates bright virtue, and therewith presents fragrant offerings, will the Spirits vomit them out?” In this passage occurs the first use of the terms “Heaven” and “Spirits” as interchangeable, and may connote a looseness of thinking that actually existed rather than a carelessness in the particular expression of religious belief. The use of “Heaven,” however, is only in the quotation. The minister bases the authority for his statements on the ancient books—an appeal to the Scriptures. The belief again is distinctly ethical in a high sense—conduct the criterion of higher powers in granting favor to men. This is as near as the men of that day could get to the notion of virtue being its own reward; they would say it *brings* the *best* reward. It would be interesting to know just what relation if any the 明德 here bears to the 明明德 of the Great Learning. Note that invasion and subduing a country are not immoral per se, but only if the subjugated country be ruled unjustly.

P. 155, Col. 2.—In speaking of a model ruler a quotation from the She-King is used:—“*Without the consciousness of effort, you accord with the pattern of God.*” (III : I : VII : 7.) This is the first use of 帝 for God in the Chuan.

P. 154, Col. 2.—Special statement of the heavenly majesty of the Emperor, presumably in view of the fact that he is now a Son of Heaven and will be deified at death. The emperor having sent a piece of sacrificial flesh to his uncle, marquis of Ts’e, and a message to the effect that the marquis, being old, need not descend and do obeisance on receiving the flesh, the marquis replied, “*Heaven’s majesty is not far from me; not a cubit, not 8 inches. Shall I, Liaou-pih, dare to covet this command of the Son of Heaven and not descend and do obeisance? If I did so, I should fear that majesty was falling low and left a stigma on the Son of Heaven. I dare not but descend and do obeisance.*”

P. 157, Cols. 1 and 2,—A strange ghost story. The young nobleman Kung appeared after burial to his former charioteer, made him enter the chariot and drive him, and said, “*E-woo has violated all propriety. I have presented a request to God and obtained it. I am going to give Tsin to Ts’in which will maintain the sacrifices to me.*” Tuh replied, “*I have heard that the spirits of the dead do not enjoy the sacrifices of those who are not of their kindred and that people only sacrifice to those who were of the same ancestry as themselves. Will not the sacrifices to you be thus virtually no sacrifices? And what crimes attach to the people (of Tsin)? Let me ask you to consider well how what you have done will lead to the wrong punishment of them and the cessation of sacrifices to yourself*” “Yes,” said the other, “*I will make another*

request to God. In seven days, at the western side of the new city, there will be a wizard, through whom you shall have an interview with me." Tuh agreed to this and the prince disappeared. When the time was come, the officer went and received this message, "*God has granted that I punish (only) the criminal who shall be defeated in Han.*" Passing by questions as to the possible origin of such a tale as this, we note, first, that here occurs the first independent use (not quoted) of 帝 God. Next, there seems to be a distinct identity affirmed between the general term Spirits and the Spirits of the dead; an identity which this single instance does not permit us to press far but which may throw some light on the origin of the Spirits, and their relation to 帝 and to 天. It is the old family ideal of sacrifice which exists to-day among the Chinese. Moreover, God it seems hears the petitions of the minor Spirits, even as he hears those of the saints! One's ancestor then might be a patron saint—but is there any instance of a man's praying to his ancestor to intercede for him with God? Or can the common man pray to 帝 or to 天? Is there any direct intercourse with either of them other than in the case of the Emperor? In short, is there any *practical* monotheism among the Chinese, or has there been? The answer to these questions cannot be found in a study of the Tso Chuan alone.

P. 161, Col. 2.—"*The calamities inflicted by Heaven flow abroad and different states have them in their turn. To succour in such calamities and compassionate one's neighbours, is the proper way; and he who pursues it will have blessing.*" The source of the blessing is not named. The idea of Heaven as fate appears here again. But interpreted by the other passages in the work, it is not cruel or capricious, nor even unscrutable. "*No good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly*" is the general sense of the concept. The striking thing to Christian students is the fact that men are too compassionate each other, but no thought of Heaven's compassionating or sympathizing appears here, yet the men who act so *will have blessing*,—what other source of blessing is there (in the sense evidently intended here) than the Spirits or Heaven? The words commented on later prove that the conception of a compassionate Heaven appears, though nothing is said about prayer to Heaven by ordinary men. It is not compassion of the individual, but of the nation.

P. 167, Par. 10.—A portent. The clan whose temple is struck by lightning must be guilty of some secret wickedness—a statement which sounds very like the O.T.

P. 177, Col. 1.—The viscount of Tsang had been offered by "the people of Choo" as a human sacrifice, and the minister of war of Choo moralizes thus:—" . . . *Sacrifices are offered for the benefit of men. Men are the hosts of the spirits at them. If you sacrifice a man, who will enjoy it?* . . . *Our lord, at*

his first assembling of the princes, has treated with oppression the rulers of two states, and has further used one of them in sacrifice to an unlicensed and irregular spirit;—will it not be difficult to get the presidency of the states in this way? If he die a natural death it will be fortunate." The sin of human sacrifice thus is rather against the spirits than against the victim. A monograph in English on the ancient sacrifices of the Chinese would greatly assist the student in understanding passages like this.

P. 177, Par. 6.—A drought is ended not by prayer, nor by sacrifice but by an *act* accordant with the will of Heaven, namely, by subduing a nation which it was conceived Heaven desired to punish on moral grounds.

P. 180, Par. 3.—The duke proposing to burn a witch and an emaciated person, to cause an end of drought. Legge calls attention to an incident in the Li Ki of the exposure of an emaciated person in a time of drought, in the hope that Heaven would pity the person and end the drought. In the present case the duke was dissuaded from his purpose by an official who gave him some sound advice in the economics of government, and added, "*What have the witch and the emaciated person to do with the matter? If Heaven had wished to put them to death, it had better not have given them life. If they can really produce drought to burn them will increase the calamity.*" Again we note the vital connection of ethics with religion in the Chinese mind, and the precedence of ethical over religious considerations.

P. 180, Par. 5.—An argument that a petty prince should be restored on the ground that the Spirits whose sacrifices would thus be continued would be pleased at the action and bless the restorers—the old effort to gain the goodwill of unseen powers.

P. 187, Col. 2.—"*When Heaven intends to prosper a man, who can stop him? He who opposes Heaven must incur great guilt.*" So says the viscount of Ts'oo, referring to the prince of Tsin. His reasons for thinking the prince so favored do not concern us. The view of Heaven here is again that of Fate, or rather of omnipotent power; the view is not discordant with a belief in it as an ethical power. The intention to prosper a man is not necessarily ethical in the mind of the Duke of Ts'oo but it is not discordant with other views, never spoken by rulers but always by ministers.

P. 195, Col. 2.—One of the numerous instances of divination by the tortoise shell. For the method of this divination see Hirth, "*Ancient History of China*," P. 118.

P. 211, Par. 11.—Here occurs the text of a covenant between the marquis of Wei and his people, after they had had some differences which they now were making up. "*Heaven sent calamity down on the state of Wei so that the ruler and his subjects were not harmonious, and we were brought to our present state of*

sorrow. But now Heaven is guiding all minds bringing them in humility to a mutual accord. If there had not been those who abode in the state, who would have kept the altars for the ruler? If there had not been those who went abroad with him, who would have guarded his cattle and horses? Because of the former want of harmony we now dearly beg to covenant before you, great spirits, asking you to direct our consciences; from this time forward after this covenant, those who went abroad with the marquis shall not presume upon their services, and those who remained in the state need not fear that any crime will be imputed to them. If any break this covenant, exciting dissatisfaction and quarrels, may the intelligent spirits and our former rulers mark and destroy them!" The author of the Chuan adds that when the people heard this covenant they no longer had any doubts in their minds. Heaven is again personal but not capricious Fate, that sends calamity, and then guides minds to a state of humility and of mutual forgiveness. The oath, be it noted, is not made to Heaven but to the intelligent Spirits and to the ancestral Spirits. Is there a distinction here? The translation of Legge makes one, but the Chinese text does not require that one be made; for the phrase 明神先君 may be translated "*intelligent spirits who are our ancestors.*" Legge is a bit loose in translation in this passage, for 明神 was formerly only "*Bright Spirits.*" But also observe a more serious looseness; the phrase 今天誘其衷 is translated "*now Heaven is guiding all minds,*" while the phrase 以誘天衷, is translated, "*asking you to direct our consciences.*" 衷 here is doubtless "*moral sense*" or "*conscience*" and should be so translated in each case. Heaven is thus master of man's moral nature; so are the Spirits to whom the second phrase, the petition, refers. The last phrase should be translated "*had no longer a divided mind*" to make the meaning clearer.

P. 209, Par. 5.—Speaking of the folly of opposing the Marquis of Tsin:—"Heaven has given him length of years and removed those who wish to injure him:—can he whom Heaven thus establishes be displaced?" Heaven as Fate again. But the marquis of Tsin appears in the context as "*distinctly worthy, in the moral sense, of Heaven's approval and aid.*"

P. 211, Par. 8.—A covenant oath taken by "*all in the court of the king's palace.*" It reads:—"We will all assist the royal house and do no harm to one another. If any one transgress this covenant may the intelligent Spirits destroy him, so that he shall lose his people and not be able to possess this state, and to the remotest posterity, let him have no descendant, old or young." The appeal for government of the issue is here again to the intelligent Spirits, and no mention is made of Heaven.

P. 244, Par. 2.—A "*S.M.*" passage, giving a list of governmental reforms, commercial, social and moral, and remark-

able because nothing is said whatever about religion. But the chief interest for us is that at the close the passage reads, "*the superior man might know from this that Ts'in would not again march in triumph to the East,*" and Legge adds, "*Alas for this prognostication of Tso-she, so falsified by the future history of Ts'in!*" The passage was then written before the Ts'in dynasty, yet is quite like the other "*S.M.*" passages.

P. 254, Par. 12.—A necessary denunciation according to propriety of the man who treated his ancestors with insolence by his demeanour in their temple when receiving the offerings for a mission. "*Treating thus insolently his ancient lords, their Spirits will not bless him.*"

P. 264, Par. 3.—A nearer approach to Calvin's God, the maker of decrees, yet moral. The Viscount of Choo, speaking about changing his capital, says, "*If it be advantageous to the people, that will be advantageous to me. When Heaven produced the people it appointed for them rulers for their profit. Since the people are to get advantage I shall share in it.*" His attendants said, "*If your life may be so prolonged why should you not decide not to remove?*" He replied, "*My appointment is for the nourishing of the people; my death sooner or later has a (fixed) time. If the people are to be benefited, let us remove, and nothing could be more fortunate.*" The capital, says Tso-she, was removed and in the fifth month the duke died. "*The superior man may say that he knew (the secret of) life.*" A higher view of Heaven, this, and a view of a remarkable man.

P. 293, Col. 2.—A description of animistic elements in the Chinese religion; means taken to avoid evil spirits (which are rarely mentioned in this work); statement that the value of the tripods was in proportion to the virtue of the Kings, and then, "*Heaven blesses intelligent virtue;—on that its favor rests. King Ch'ing fixed the tripods in Kéah juh, and divined that the dynasty should extend through 30 reigns, over 700 years. Though the virtue of Chow is decayed, the decree of Heaven is not yet changed.*" This is a mixture of high and low religious ideals, of divination and ethics. But Heaven is very personal, even in its decree.

P. 316, Par. 2.—A beleaguered city divines as to whether it shall make peace; the answer is "*No*"; but later the city is reduced, and naturally the leader of the forces in the city speaks of himself as "*uncared for by Heaven,*" a very personifying view of Heaven.

P. 327, Par. 2.—"*Heaven is now giving the power to T'sao. Strong as Tsin is, can it resist Heaven?*" A number of popular proverbs are then cited, and the assertion follows that in them is found the way of Heaven; "*the rivers and meres receive much filth,*" "*the hills and thickets hide noxious things,*" "*the finest gems have flaws.*" The interesting thing is that the sayings of the common people should be held to reveal the mind of Heaven.

P. 328.—The “*people’s friend*” is the man who plans for the defense of their altars:—for of course it was the worship at those altars which secured the goodwill of the spirits for the people.

P. 337, Par. 3.—“*To violate a covenant is inauspicious; to do despite to the great State is unrighteous. Neither Spirits nor men will help you in such a course; and how can you expect to conquer?*” Ethical character of the Spirits.

P. 374, Par. 5.—The story of a religious dream, its interpretation and the outcome. “*The marquis of Tsin saw in a dream a great demon with dishevelled hair reaching to the ground, which beat its breast and leaped up, saying, ‘you have slain my descendants unrighteously and I have presented my request to God in consequence’* [this would be the spirit of the founder of the Chaou clan]; it then broke the great gate (of the palace), advanced to the gate of the State chamber, and entered; the duke was afraid and went into a side chamber the door of which it also broke; the duke then awoke and called for the witch of Sang-t’ien, who told him everything he had dreamt. “*What will be the issue?*” said the duke. “*You will not taste the new wheat,*” she replied. The tale goes on to relate the fulfilment of this prophecy. The whole is an instance of the connection of dreams with religion and witches, and the appearance in a dream of the religious conviction of the Chinese on the subject of ancestors, especially of the power of a spirit to appeal to God, after the manner of a Greek divinity appealing to Zeus.

P. 382, Par. 2.—The significant statement occurs that “*the great affairs of a State are sacrifice and war.*” Religion is both individual and national, but chiefly the latter.

P. 403, Par. 2.—Prayer for death by a subject, for “*our ruler is haughty and extravagant, and, by this victory over his enemies, Heaven is increasing his disease.*” It seems as though some men thought that whereas virtue commanded Heaven’s blessing, Heaven might deny blessing by influencing a man unvirtuously. But it may only mean that by prosperity Heaven was testing his character and he was not equal to the test. The prayer, offered by the family priest in the ancestral temple, was doubtless to the ancestral Spirits.

P. 409, Par. 2.—A new duke, addressing his great officers, says, among other things, “*At first I had no wish to arrive at this state, and now, though I have arrived at it, is it not to be ascribed to Heaven? . . . If you will reverently follow your ruler, then the Spirits will bless us.*” The ethical view is clearly taken here, of Heaven.

P. 432, Par. 6.—After an enumeration of virtues, it is said, that “*To him who has such virtue the Spirits will listen,*” and such a man, it is urged, should therefore be appointed ruler.

P. 441, Par. 6.—“*At a forced covenant, where there is no sincerity the Spirits are not present. They are present only when there is good faith. Good faith is the gem of speech, the essential point of all goodness; and therefore the Spirits draw near to it. They in their intelligence do not require adherence to a forced covenant, it may be broken.*”

P. 453, Par. 5.—A remarkable covenant oath, offered to “*the Spirits of the famous hills and of the famous streams, the kings and duke our predecessors, the whole host of Spirits, and all who are sacrificed to the ancestors of our twelve states with their seven surnames:—may all these intelligent Spirits, etc.*” The list of Spirits is interesting, and it would be still more interesting to know whether in the host of Spirits were supposed to be any kinds not specifically named here.

P. 465, Col. 2.—The duke announces flight and declares his freedom from guilt in his ancestral temple, whereupon the proper dowager (not his mother) scornfully says, “*If there be no Spirits, what is the use of such an announcement? If there be, they are not to be imposed upon.*” Very different this sentiment, from that of the Chinese to-day, who do not give the Spirits credit for much human intelligence, and who have largely lost any very lively belief in good Spirits.

P. 466, Col. 2.—A long and remarkable religious and social statement, put in the mouth of “*the music master Kwang.*” The main part of it is as follows:—“*A good ruler will reward the virtuous and punish the vicious; he will nourish his people as his children, overshadowing them as heaven, and supporting them as the earth. Then the people will maintain their ruler, love him as apparent, look up to him as the sun and moon, revere him as they do spiritual beings and stand in awe of him as they do of thunder:—could such a ruler be expelled? Now the ruler is the host of the Spirits and the hope of the people. If he make the life of the people to be straitened and the Spirits to want their sacrifices, then the hope of the people is cut off and the altars are without a host;—of what use is he, and what should they do but send him away. Heaven, in giving birth to the people, appointed for them rulers to be their superintendents and pastors, so that they should not lose their proper nature. For the rulers there are assigned their assistants . . . Thus the Son of Heaven has his dukes, princes of state have their high ministers, . . . etc. Heaven’s love for the people is very great; would it allow the one man to take his way and will over them, so indulging his excessive desire and discarding the (kindly) nature of Heaven and Earth?*” First instance in this work in which the Spirits are called 神明. But the supreme statement, the religious high-water mark of the commentary is 天之愛民甚矣, “*Heaven’s love for the people is very great.*” It seems to point clearly to the personality of Heaven. The statement is equal to “*like as a father pitieth his children,*” but no

qualifying "*them that fear him*" is added. The people have a natural and inalienable right, in the constitution of things by Heaven, not to rule themselves, but to be ruled properly, and with care and love.

P. 509, Col. 1.—In a time of severe famine, "*the Spirits should be prayed to, but no sacrifices offered*;" reasons for this are not given.

P. 514, Col. 2.—"*Is it the business of the ruler of the people to be merely above them? the altars of the State should be his chief care. Is it the business of the minister of a ruler merely to be concerned about his support? The nourishment of the altars should be his object. Therefore when a ruler dies or goes into exile for the altars, the minister should die or go into exile with him.*" This is emphasis on the ethical character of the governments' relation to the spirits, a suitable compliment to the repeated affirmation of the ethical character of Heaven and of the Spirits in relation to rulers and people, but the statement here is of course indefinite—the altars are the first care of ruler and minister; but it has been clearly stated that virtue is essential in them, before they can take proper care of the altars.

P. 542, Col. 2.—A vindication of the character of Heaven. Says one, "*Heaven would seem to enrich bad men.*" Reply, "*Riches are the reward of good men and the ruin of bad men. He will be destroyed utterly with all that are his.*"

P. 596, Col. 2.—"*The ancient Kings made the cultivation of virtue their object, in order to affect both Spirits and men.*" Ethical character of religion emphasized.

P. 618.—Statements about the origin of spirits, good and evil. "*When a ghost has a place to go to it does not become an evil spirit. . . . When a man is born (we see) in his first movements what is called the animal soul. After this has been produced it is developed into what is called the spirit. By the use of things the subtle elements are multiplied, and the soul and spirit become strong. They go on in this way, growing in etherealness and brightness, till they become (thoroughly) spiritual and intelligent. When an ordinary man or woman dies a violent death, the soul and spirit are still able to keep hanging about men as an evil apparition; how much more might this be expected in the case of Lëang Lëaou, a descendant of our former ruler Duke Muti, the grandson of Tsze-lëang, the son of Tsze-urh, all ministers of our state, engaged in its government for three generations! Although Ch'ing be not great, and in fact, as the saying is, an insignificant state, yet belonging to a family which has held for three generations the handle of government, his use of things had been extensive, the subtle essences which he had imbibed many. His clan also was a great one and his connections distinguished. Is it not entirely reasonable that having died a violent death, he should be a ghost?*" Here we have the popular beliefs of China about the dead stated briefly, with particular references

to the origin of evil spirits. The more firmly bound up a man is with the government, the greater his power to affect it, for good or ill, after his death. But nothing is said, be it noted, about propitiating evil spirits, or avoiding them.

P. 619, Col. 2.—The duties of a prince which take him abroad. He “*has to preside at the altars, to be present at sacrifices, take the charge of the people and officers, serve the spirits, attend at conferences and visit other courts.*” The prominence of religious duties is noteworthy.

P. 649, Col. 2.—King Ling angered at an unfavourable reply from the tortoise shell casts it from him and rails at Heaven, whose will it had revealed.

P. 650, Col. 2.—Choice of a successor to the throne, there being no proper heir by an appeal to the “*appointment of the Spirits* ;” the five boys eligible being tested as to the locality of an invisible offering to the Spirits. Here is the magical view of relations with them.

P. 667, Par. 2.—An account of the offering of sacrifices and other ceremonies on the occasion of an eclipse. As both sun and moon were seats of spiritual powers, their meeting naturally called for spiritual exercises, but these are prompted by *fear*, which does not appear often in this work ; Heaven or the Spirits may be capricious, but usually the virtuous man has no occasion to be afraid of their influence on his life.

P. 683, Par. 5.—A long passage given up to demonstrating the ethical view of religion. The marquis of Ts’e was ill and it was proposed, in view of the fact that his service of the Spirits had been liberal, to put to death the priest and historiographer on the ground that they must have offended the Spirits. But another opposes this in a long speech in which he distinctly sets forth on the one hand, the conditions under which the Spirits are pleased with liberal service, and those under which they are displeased, (in the first case when “*the virtuous ruler is negligent of nothing at home or abroad, when neither high nor low have any cause for dissatisfaction, and none of his movements are opposed to what circumstances require,*” and in the second “*when they meet with a ruler abandoned to excesses, irregular and vicious at home and abroad, causing dissatisfaction and hatred to high and low, his movements and actions deflected from and opposed to the right, following his desires and satisfying his private aims, etc.,*”) and on the other shows that the ruler is guilty of conduct displeasing to the Spirits, for which no amount of formal ritual service could atone. “*If your lordship wishes to execute the priest and historiographer, cultivate your virtue and then you may do it.*”

P. 699, Par. 9.—“*Now a great officer of the western King has perished in this earthquake ;—Heaven is casting him off.*” Calamity in the physical realm indicates the judgment of Heaven.

P. 703, Par. 5.—Another instance of offering a jade sceptre as a sacrifice.

P. 717, Col. 2,—“*King E suffered from an evil disease, and the princes all hurried to sacrifice to their hills and rivers, praying for the King's person.*” It would be interesting to know whether sacrifice was made to the spirits of hills and rivers because they were the only divinities that could be evoked for the aid of one not of one's own clan.

P. 718. A page of interesting religious matters. First comes the case of two Kings, who added to their other sins this above all, that they were disrespectful to the Spirits. Then comes the narrative of a comet, to which the marquis of Ts'e proposed to offer a deprecatory sacrifice, but was opposed by a minister in these words, “*It is of no use; you will only practise a delusion. there is no uncertainty in the ways of Heaven, it does not waver in its purposes:—why should you offer a deprecatory sacrifice? Moreover there is a broom-star (i.e., Comet) in the sky;—it is for the removal of dirt. If your lordship have nothing about your conduct that can be so described, what have you to deprecate? If you have, what will be diminished by your deprecation? . . . Let your lordship do nothing contrary to virtue, and from all quarters the States will come to you;—why should you be troubled, about a comet? . . . If the conduct be evil and disorderly the people are sure to fall away, and nothing that priests and historiographers can do will mend the evil.*” Finally there is a statement about the rules of propriety, that “*their rise was contemporaneous with that of Heaven and Earth. . . . It was what the ancient Kings received from Heaven and Earth for the government of their people, and therefore they ranked it in the highest place.*” In the comet narrative, the ethical character of man's relation to the higher powers is again clearly stated. The section on the rules of propriety is interesting as stating the source of their authority, so similar to many notions of the source of authority in Christian doctrines.

P. 760, Col. 2—“*If the dead have any knowledge, they will enjoy the old sacrifices*”; not that there is any doubt of their having such knowledge and enjoyment, however; the statement is ironical and rhetorical.

P. 799, Col. 2. A prayer for victory in battle addressed to three ancestors.

P. 846, Col. 1.—“*Be reverent! Heaven is now blessing you but if you are not reverent, it will not bestow its blessing; and repentance then will be of no avail.*” The ethical thought is here comparatively high.

P. 854, Col. 2.—Refusal to divine a second time—the first time was lucky—let well enough alone!

P. 855, Col. 1.—Tsin “*has received much favor from Heaven; how should it be able to advance further?*”

II. CLASSIFICATION OF RELIGIOUS STATEMENTS.

I had hoped that the work of collecting these religious statements would reveal some clearly marked stages in the evolution of religious thought. On concluding the work I find this not to be the case. We are quite in the dark, so far as evidence from the Tso Chuan is concerned, as to whether the higher ethical views in religion were earlier or later. More than that, there is not a great variety of views expressed; the religious conceptions belong most of them to a single class of ideas and are on the same intellectual and moral plane. We turn then to the simpler question of the analysis of these ideas into their parts.

1. The Supreme Being is commonly called Heaven; He is sometimes (quite rarely in this work and chiefly in quotations from older works) referred to as Ti or Shang-ti. But there are numerous inferior deities, spirits of ancestors, or spirits inhabiting natural objects (hills, rivers, trees), who are called Shen 神, or 明神 or 神明. So far as this work is concerned, the term for God is surely not Shen.

2. Heaven is never distinctly immoral. At first sight, some passages seem to make Heaven capricious, but a careful study of all the passages makes it doubtful if a single authentic case can be made out. As to personality, it is perhaps never stated so distinctly as to be established beyond the possibility of a doubt. Nevertheless so many traits of character which to us are inseparably bound up with personality are ascribed to Heaven, that it is difficult to see how Heaven can be regarded as other than personal.

3. The Spirits appear a few more times in the work than does Heaven or God, but only a few. They are of course personal, are usually moral and are deities inferior to Heaven or Shang-ti, making requests to them and obtaining favors from them. Exceptions occur, in the existence of evil spirits, but these spirits are never called Shen 神; the terms for them are 厲, 鬼, 魑 and 魅. Into these ideograms 神 does not even enter as part of a compound. It is truly remarkable, in view of the large place given to evil spirits in the popular religious beliefs and religious life of the Chinese, to find them almost entirely shut out from a work of this kind, and of this comparatively late date. The good Spirits are such ethically regarded, and the ethics is of a high order. Communication with the Spirits is ordinarily by sacrifice and if they are pleased, they will do for their devotees (and only the descendants of a Spirit should offer sacrifice to it) what is best. But prayer may sometimes be addressed directly to the Spirits, prayer and sacrifice may be combined, communication by divination may be established. A curious magical view of the way for learning the mind of the Spirits is expressed and strangely enough,

fear of the Spirits (not ancestral) appears. Propriety must always be observed in worship of the Spirits.

4. No evidence that the common man can establish relations with Heaven appears, and the most that any man can do is to discover the will of Heaven by use of tortoise-shell divination. Nothing is said of imperial sacrifice to Heaven, but that may be taken for granted, as the history has little to say about the emperor. The Spirits can petition Heaven, and men can (presumably) petition the Spirits (to petition Heaven) but no evidence of a desire to do this appears. Heaven is too far off and inscrutable—that is the feeling; it may be true that “*Heaven's love for the people is very great*,” but the proper feeling from the people toward Heaven is awe and fear. It is enough to petition the Spirits and wait on them for help. The feelings which made Confucius stand in awe of the ordinances of Heaven (Analects xvi, 8) was doubtless widespread and natural. In the midst of this comes the strange statement that the popular sayings of the common people reveal the mind of Heaven.

5. We see thus that for the Chinese of that day, the ultimate seat of authority was Heaven, but for their religious activity the seat of authority in practice was usually the Spirits to whom they as individuals, or as rulers representing the nation, were entitled to sacrifice.

III. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

The value of the religious element in the Tso Chuan appears to lie chiefly in its corroboration of views found elsewhere, and in its evidence of the existence and meaning of popular religion.

The chief business of the State, it says, is war and sacrifice. The chief place is given to war, but religion has a share. The thoroughly ethical character of their religion, the beliefs they had in the virtue of Heaven and of their minor divinities form only another happy reminder of their saneness and sincerity, of their happy isolation in not worshipping immoral gods. The faults in their religion are crudeness and incompleteness. They had very little religious imagination. Their religious instincts were fortunately healthy so far as they went but they have worked themselves out into forms that are fantastic, ill-proportioned and absurd. In the years since the commentator Tso lived and wrote, the *ex opera operata* views have crept in by way of Buddhism, and the rank unhealthy growths of Taoism have found a soil. The old simplicity and sincerity still exist, but are not always easy to find. Where they are found it is usually in those who are students and who are acquainted with the records of the ancient religious practices of the Chinese.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Nestorian Monument in China. By P. Y. SAEKI, London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Professor Saeki has seen visions. He has entered into the past in the historical spirit, and the result is this valuable book. Many scholars have worked in this mine and Mr. Saeki has entered with sympathy into their work, and gathering the results of past investigators to his own researches has produced the standard work on the Nestorians in China. It can't be said that it is the final work, or, that it is complete, for there are many things that are undecided and much that is only a surmise, and many conclusions remain that are based only on assumption. These may be determined and finally fixed when other facts come to light, or discoveries made, but in the meantime we must rejoice in this.

The work contains three parts (a) *Introduction*, dealing with historical matter, pp. 1-160. (b) Translation of the Inscription. (c) *Notes on the Text*. There are also 22 appendices *Translation, of an old inscription* and text in Chinese. There is also a Bibliography and an Index.

There are many controversial matters that this work will help to settle, one of the acutest is the relation of Christianity and Buddhism. Was Buddhism influenced in any way by Christianity. Dr. T. Richard and A. Lloyd and others have held the view that it was; and endeavoured to prove their contention from the contents of the Mahayana faith. The tenets of this is very different from the Hinayana. The one has much in common with the Christian dogma and the other is opposed to it. Now the contention of these scholars is that the newer Buddhism arose in a new form from contact with the Christian faith, therefore as the Mahayana form contains the Christian content to a great extent an appeal can be made to Buddhists to accept the full Christian faith. Dr. W. St. Clair Tisdall hotly contests such a conclusion and warns people against too hasty acceptance "We ourselves are convinced," he says, "that he (Dr. Richard) has been misled in his hasty and somewhat uncritical generalisations and we most categorically deny that these fundamental truths of Christianity are really imbedded in High Buddhism." China—January 1914, pp. 716-719.

Now the question is treated at length in this volume and many suggestive remarks are made. It is clearly shown how one influenced the other and whilst the Nestorians used Buddhist terms it is undoubted that Christian ideas entered into Buddhism. The impression made in the mind of the present Bishop of Exeter, as expressed in the preface where he says

"undoubtedly that civilization (Far Eastern) has been largely affected by the Mahayana Buddhism, and that Buddhism has always been acknowledged to have had close relations to Christian teaching, but the exact path whereby some of the Christian atmosphere has permeated Eastern civilization has never been so clearly traced before." This volume may help us to arrive at the truth. Sufficient for us to say that the two faiths must have greatly influenced each other, both in terms and ideas.

Another very interesting question is the evidence of other traces of Christian thought in Chinese writings. Mr. Saeki finds one strong evidence in the word "Heaven." He thinks that the theistic conception of the world was strong and clearly expressed by the Confucian and Taoist scholars of the Tang and Sung period. (618-1277 A.D.). In their writings "Heaven" bears a strongly theistic interpretation "We cannot but observe that this remarkable change took place in the period following the arrival of the Nestorians" (p. 156.) One marked contrast may be seen in the altered view of the location of Heaven. Previously the phase of thought is seen in the idea that Heaven must be obeyed, implying a power acting from without: but after the Tang and Sung great stress is laid on the presence of Heaven in the heart. God is within you. "The Nestorian contribution to the development of a Personal God is indeed great and valuable." Indeed their energy and effort were altogether praiseworthy. Though their missionaries were not as highly educated as the Chinese, amongst whom they laboured—forming a contrast to the missionaries of to-day, who "are more advanced in science if not in philosophy than the Chinese," yet by their conduct and zeal these men won a high opinion rapidly. Of course the Chinese themselves, at the time, were open to religious influences from without and seemed to be eager to gain any help in culture and worship. The number of missionaries was numerous, over 3,000 aliens.

"Their influence is also seen in the Chin-tan-chiao and Mohammedans of China: in the ancestor worship which they harmonised with the feast of departed souls: in the name of 'the Vairochana-Religion;' in priestly marriage and meat-eating: in the 'Salvation-by-faith:' in Amitabha-Buddhism and Eternal Life: and in the theory of God-in-man (神人合一說) upheld by the Sung scholars." These questions are very subtle and full of interest. They will bear further investigation. It will be a fruitful study, as Mr. Saeki says: "The Nestorian Stone with its famous Inscription is the means wherewith to reveal the past relationship between East and the West . . . It furnishes a light by which we may retrace the old route between China and the Roman Orient that has for long been so obscure . . . and is destined to throw an abundant light on the character of Chinese civilization in High Asia, during the Middle Ages of our Era."

An examination into certain words reveals much history. For instance the word for grapes *P'u t'ao* is nothing other than a corruption of the

Greek *Botrus*. "We read in Chinese chronicles how grapes were introduced into China from Ferghana together with fine Arabian horses." The Chinese further believe that they were introduced with the horses because the horses had to be fed on them. Then again the word for radishes Lo-po is a corruption of the Greek word *raphe*. Likewise the 安息香 *Parthian incense*: An-hsi is an ancient word in Chinese and is derived from ARSAKES, the name of the founder of the Arsacidae Dynasty and the Chinese further maintain that Parthian incense has the virtue of raising the dead. This again may be full of ritualistic history. The Chinese word for lion 獅 shih is supposed to come from the Persian word "*Shir*". The Japanese word Maru 丸 was used for *Lord, Master, Saint*, but now chiefly used for *ship*, can be traced back to the Syriac word *Mar, Mars, Master, Lord*.

Unfortunately Prof. Saeki has not investigated or discussed traces of Nestorian influences in popular practices, or the mythology and folk-lore commonly observed by the people. There is one practice that is observed in the West of China, particularly in Shansi, that seems to the writer to be full of significance. During the new year's feasts the Chinese worship the head of a man. A picture is displayed, generally on the swing which is very popular during the 3 days of the feast (13th-16th), and the explanation is that this is a part of a Being divided into 3 parts: and connected with this is the feast of lanterns. The significance of this feast is that God has been provoked by the sins of the world and has ordered its punishment by fire: but already a member of the Trinity (the head) has anticipated the doom of man and warned them to light bonfires to elude Heaven and the result is the conflagration set alight at the suggestion of the Mediator. Thus the tripartite man is also Saviour. In these popular practices then we have enshrined much old and familiar theology. Now where did these come from, if not from the Nestorian tradition? An examination into the superstition of the Kitchen God and his wife and the serpent may supply further material for believing that these myths are remains of Nestorian theology. But it is not possible to pursue this subject further, only saying that future investigators must not neglect the study of these popular practices in their historical investigations.

What became of the Nestorians has always been a pertinent and vital question. How was it that this powerful and numerous sect disappeared so completely. But Mr. Saeki would not say that they had disappeared. They exist today. The powerful Chin tan chiao, or, White Lily Sect is nothing other than the remnant of the faithful. He accepts the surmises of Prof. Huberty James and others, advanced long ago. He gives the names of ten societies altogether into which the Nestorian adherents merged. Whether these were founded by them, or existed before he does not say. The Mi Mi chiao (密密教) is another Society which bears a strong trace of the ancient faith. This sect the reviewer found to be very strong and numer-

ous in Fan Shih, North Shansi. They have a very definite theory that the divine power comes and goes out of the believer at will in some mysterious manner. May we not have the teaching concerning the Holy Ghost preserved in this material form today? A great number of these Nestorians must have become Mohammedans too. This mergence was begun in the violent religious persecutions of Emperor Wu-tsung in 845 A.D. and "consummated in the fourteenth century through the great persecution which Timur directed against both Nestorians and Mohammedans." But these conclusions must be further investigated and based on facts rather than surmises. This should not be impossible. Some reference to such a movement, if it ever happened, must be found in Mohammedan tradition and writing. Thus the great effort of these earnest missionaries from the West is lost in the storm and tempest of persecutions. Total extinction would meet them if they remained independent, but by alliance with the Mohammedans, or by change of name they have survived; and only gain an uncertain recognition from succeeding generations because of the corruption of its pristine faith, and the loss of its distinctive form and tenets.

It may be asked why the Nestorian did not amalgamate with the Buddhists if there was an identity of faith between them, as advocated by some. The reason is clear, the Buddhists themselves were undergoing a severe persecution—known as "the third persecution"—The greatest they had encountered since coming to China in A.D. 67.

We cannot touch on any more of the fascinating topics discussed in this charming volume with such lucidity and learning. We should, however, like to suggest certain improvements and emendations in the second edition when called for.

(1) The impression of the stele is not as good as it might be. Compared with that in Père Havret's work, or, that in Père Gaillard's *Croix et Swastika*: the one in this volume looks blurred and insignificant. The author by the way makes no reference at all to the *Croix and Swastika*: nor to the suggested emendations of the Chinese text proposed by the late Dr. Moir Duncan.

(2) If the author divided his Introduction into Chapters it would much improve the character of the work. The matter contained in the Introduction would form many striking chapter headings, which would help the reader to read and remember the difficult and intricate topics. The topical headings at the side are useful but not quite sufficient. A chapter might be given to Sianfu too, showing its place in the history of China. The Chinese call it the city of the eight rivers.

(3) Again in the notes the numeral references are to the English text. If the numbers were indicated in the Chinese text too it would be a great improvement, and a help to the reader.

(4) Page 3 京兆尹 cannot refer to Sianfu city but to an official. Page 82 Firus is written Firuz on page 329.

M.

Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes. A study in the tendencies of Asiatic Mentality, by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, with an introduction by Dr. WU TING FANG, Shanghai, The Commercial Press, 1916. Six Shillings.

This is a remarkable and in many ways excellent book. Its author is evidently a man of wide reading and great powers of assimilation.

His main hypotheses are (p. 3).

(1.) That the tread of religious evolution in India and China has been more or less along the same lines.

(2.) That the imputation of Buddhism did not create the affinity between India and China for the first time but helped forward already existing notions and practices.

(3.) That post Buddhistic life and thought in both countries have been almost identical.

He musters a vast array of facts in support of these hypotheses.

He administers a severe and well deserved drubbing to those very numerous writers who accept an epigram for a statement of fundamental principles. He points out that the saying as to "a cycle of Cathay" ceases to be applicable if any period before the mechanical era is considered. He holds that China shows signs of just as great mental progression as occurred in Europe before the Reformation, that undue importance has been attached to Greek influence in Asia and that the apparently great differences between religious theory in India, China and Japan are more terminological than real.

He expounds his subject in historical sequence, and indicates most important parallels between India and China as to the relation between political conditions and religious development. This, which is the essential part of the book, forms a most useful and illuminating conspectus of the history of religion in Eastern Asia.

On the other hand this treatise seems to lose force by a too rigid adherence to Spencerian methods. While no reasonable person can refuse to grant the great part played by environment (political and religious) on the changes in religion one fails to find much reference to those inner features of psychical variation and response which are the complement of environment and determine the course which the changes produced shall take. He lays strong emphasis on the essential unity of human nature within the Sangoku (San-Kuo or Three Realms, India, China and Japan) and its general identity with that of humanity at large but fails to deal with those peculiarities of make-up which cause the final products of not greatly differing environments to show strong divergence. That objectionable word "temperament" does not come in for any mention and yet it would appear that Hindu, Chinese and Japanese natal characters are such that almost the same creeds differ essentially in their effect. At the risk of appearing epigrammatic it may probably be fairly said that the "idealism" of the

Hindu, the "practicality" of the Chinese and the "virility" of the Japanese do correspond in a considerable measure to the facts.

One gains an impression from the book that Professor Sarkar believes that the religious nature of the Chinese has developed under the impact of political change acting on an almost neutral natival character. Doubtless this is not exactly what he means, but the impression remains.

Still another line of thought with which many readers will disagree is that which he adopts as to the sages. He deduces that Confucius, Lao Tzu and Buddha were mere products of their ages rather than the dominant personalities or even divinities which posterity has made them. One of the outstanding difficulties in evolution theory is the appearance of sudden uprush followed by gradual decline. If the change be represented graphically the curve of evolution is not so much like a gradually rising tide curve with sinuous pulsations superposed on a much greater pulse as of a series of abrupt steps gradually calling away until the next occurs. The same feature occurs biologically in the appearance of "mutations" or apparently new species.

This peculiarity is seen whether we take the case of Chou Kung, Confucius, Chu Hsi, Buddha or Mohammed and the question arises whether it is an illusion or not. May it not rather be that the subliminal uprush appears generally in many individuals at the same epoch but really *does* culminate in the personality of the subsequently acknowledged Sage? Even if Buddha or Confucius had comparable contemporaries is it not a fact that they possessed such superior "spiritual force" or suggestive power that no real injustice is done to their contemporaries in now neglecting the latter?

It is perhaps hypercritical to remark on the absence of standardization in writing Chinese names. We thus have "Suma-chien" on p. 48 and "Ssi-ma-Tsien" on p. 97.

On p. 48 there is "Gablentz" i.e. "Gabelentz."

The author arrives at certain conclusions as to the "Asiatic Mind" which are not wholly satisfactory. He says (p. 276) that the "foundation of Asiatic consciousness may be said to consist in three conceptions :

' First.....Tao.....'Eternal order.'

' Second.....'Pluralism.'

' Third.....'Toleration'.....'Laisser faire.'

He regards the first two as common to man and states that "Monotheism is a psychological absurdity. Both the physical organism and the nervous system predispose him to be a polythiest Constituted as man is he cannot afford to be a monotheist except on occasions of abstract intellectual discussion."

In this point of course everything hinges on the significance of—"theism." Undoubtedly all men are impelled to anthropomorphise certain sections of experience and give them a potency temporarily distinct from

that of the general order, but it appears to the reviewer that Professor Sakar has landed himself in a dilemma here from the neglect of "spiritual experience." From this point of view a monotheist is one who believes himself in touch with the all, and a polytheist one who believes in the sufficiency of a partial and independent centre of psychic activity. In this sense some Vedantins and the loftier type of Taoists may be said to be monotheists. The Jews, Christians and Mohammedans may also claim vis-à-vis the Mahayana Buddhists to be more definitely monotheistic. Professor Sakar considers the tendency to judge beliefs by reference to a monotheistic standard to be a "superstition of the modern age" and that the "unity of individual personality is an abstraction" or an "under-current" (p. 278).

One may object that this position is due to a perversion of the idea of "abstraction." Ancient logicians considered that an "abstract" idea was that which remained when all definite features had been "abstracted." The modern thinker regards it as the recognizable concurrence of things when an indefinitely large number of concepts are superposed, as in a composite photograph. Similarly, God is the agreement of all ideas as to personality and spirit and it is precisely in this emphasis on a vital fundamental and *potent* unity that Western philosophers differ from Far Eastern ones.

As to the question of Toleration, De Groot's opinion of Confucianism does not bear out Professor Sarkar's thesis very well. Similarly the sectarian divisions which actually exist in India are opposed to it. One cannot help feeling that Professor Sarkar has here fallen into that same pit of epigram from which he has warned others.

Sufficient has been said to indicate the important character of this book and since it is probable that books of this type will have a considerable influence in moulding the thought of the next few generations in the Far East, it should be widely read by educationalists, missionaries and others who wish to learn something of what Asia really thinks on the problems of life.

H. C.

Forty-five Years in China. Reminiscences by TIMOTHY RICHARD D.D., LITT. D. (With 18 Illustrations. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1 Adelphi Terrace, 10/6 net.)

In his Dedication the Author states that "This Volume is a record of efforts to establish the Kingdom of God among a fourth of the human race."

It is indeed the story of a life which has been freely given in the service of humanity and especially of the Chinese people. There is, particularly in the earlier chapters, a fascination in the narrative that is suggestive of that well known classic, Borrow's Bible in Spain. It has the same kind of charm. There is the play of an independent personality in sympathetic touch with many and diverse types of humanity.

Dr. Richard has a big heart. The writer of this review has on more than one occasion in China witnessed his remarkable power of calling out and quickening the interest of his hearers in great issues and enthusing them in the cause of lofty ideals. This record of 45 years shows that Dr. Richard is a lover of humanity a philanthropist, and a seer of visions—a prophet.

It is easy to bring the searchlight of cold criticism to bear on such a life—whether it be the criticism of a hard orthodoxy or a still harder intellectual materialism in both of which the heart of man finds no space for free play. Before such criticism the ‘vision splendid’ ‘fades into the light of common day.’

But it is the Souls who soar into the higher realms and whose vision is more far-reaching than that of others—who lead the way into hitherto untrodden realms and make possible the new heaven and the new earth which the practical man helps the prophet to bring about.

As the reader studies these pages he realizes that Dr. Richard has played an important part in shaping the new China which is slowly emerging in our days. He has been an influence amongst the leaders of this great country. He has had close personal touch with statesmen of the highest calibre, who have regarded his views as at least worthy of careful consideration. The extent of this influence will be seen if we give the names of some of these. Among them are such men as:—Prince Kung, Prince Ching, Prince Su, Prince Tsai Chen. Their excellencies Li Hung-chang, Chang Chih-tung, Marquis Tseng, Tsō Tsung-t'ang, Na Tung, Chang Yen-huan, Weng T'ung-ho, Sun Chia-nai, Jung Lon, Chow Fu, Kang Gi, Yuan Shih-kai, etc. In a wider circle we find he had contact with Marquis Ito, Count Okuma and Prince Konoye, Sir Harry Parkes, Sir Robert Hart, Bishop Favier, Archbishop Nicolai of the Orthodox Church, the Chief Lama and the Chief Abbot of the Buddhists, the Taoist Pope, the Chief Mullah of the Mahomedans, the Galkwar of Baroda and the then President Roosevelt.

He was in intimate touch with the Reform movement in China and with the Young Reformers K'ang Yu-wei, Liang Chi-Ch'ao and others.

His work through his Science Lectures for officials and especially through the publications of the Christian Literature Society (which by the way does not appear in the Index) was one of the important factors in the awakening of China from its age-long slumbers. It was a statesmenlike act to suggest and carry through the Shansi University scheme, which, with its Publication Department, has had a powerful influence in moulding thought and in helping to break down the prejudices dividing East from West. Dr. Richard's powerful advocacy of the claims of education was also one of the influences leading to the establishment of Municipal Public Schools for Chinese in Shanghai. At an earlier stage of his life he won the admiration and gratitude of the Chinese by his whole-hearted devotion in the cause of Famine Relief, especially in Shansi.

All may not agree with Dr. Richard's views on Buddhism but whether by the study of the Buddhist writings, or by his visits for personal investigation at Buddhist sacred shrines in China, Japan and Corea, he certainly went to the sources to discover facts on which to base his conclusions. The interpretation he gives of the Higher Buddhism, the Buddhism of the Mahayana School has the support of some of the best modern scholars, and there is much to be said in its favour. A visit to the Timothy Richard Library at the Christian Literature Society's Headquarters in Shanghai will help one to understand that much reading and thought has been done in the endeavour to give the Chinese people the most helpful ideas and thoughts that the West has to give for the help of the East. Dr. Richard and the Christian Literature Society's other workers have been rendering most valuable help to China under his inspiring leadership.

We heartily commend this most helpful stimulating* book to all interested in China and in the efforts of one who has devoted a long life to the service of her people and the cause of humanity.

B.

The Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming. By F. G. HENKE, Ph.D.,
Chicago. Open Court Publishing Co.

Mr. Wang is coming to his own. His influence has always been great in China and Japan. He is now being prepared for the West. Mr. F. G. Henke has elaborated the paper read before this Society in 1914, and published his work in the handsome volume now before us. It is a pleasure to handle and look upon such a work. Its production should please the Chinese and stimulate them to preserve their ancient worthies. Not that they have been negligent in the past of literature, but there is a danger at present that the proper furnishing of good editions of their great thinkers should at this time fall into neglect. Great men and thinkers are the common property of humanity. When men become imbued with their teaching and spirit and understand the controlling motion of their minds, as Tseng Kuo Fan said, and act like them they will not be far from the perfect life. As Su Shih said: these men by assisting the operations of Heaven and earth become the guides of the world, and so we should feel grateful to such men as Mr. Henke for this work, which makes it possible for a wider public to become acquainted with the philosophy of Mr. Wang.

Mr. Henke has followed the text prepared by the Commercial Press, 4 Vols., which gave a compendium of the original Chinese work (24 vols). He has divided his work, following the original, into four books. Book I deals with Instructions for Practical Life; Book II is a record of Discourses and an Inquiry into the Great Learning, Books III and IV contain the Letters. In his Preface, Mr Henke gives a short summary of some of his leading doctrines: such as that "the mind of man is the measure of all things: the identity of theory and practice: the unity of nature and man:

this leads to the conceptions of equality of opportunity and liberty. Thus we have the foundations of the principles of all social activity and reform." The body of the book contains the verbatim translations of Mr. Wang's theories interspersed with the translator's comments and discussions. The translation, where we have examined it, is clear and correct.

If we were inclined to criticise the work it would be in the direction that it would have been clearer and more useful if Mr. Henke had summarised the doctrines and theories of Mr. Wang under definite capita, exhibiting the argument in his (Mr. Henke) own words. By this method the leading ideas of the philosopher would be more clearly focussed. In this way, too, his relation to other Chinese thinkers could be discussed and amplified. His relation too to the world thinkers on the same lines could have been compared. Further this method would afford the author an opportunity to touch upon Mr. Wang's influence on Japanese thought. He does mention it in the preface, but his remarks need expansion. The Japanese show how the Yomei school (named after Wang Yang Ming) arose teaching a distinctively monistic, idealistic doctrine in opposition to the dualistic system of Chu Hsi. The school held the alleged difference between the Ki and the Li to be only nominal, both being different phases of the same Being. All is one, One is All. Conscience is embedded in man's original nature, and is the real entity which constitute the universe. The nature of man and the universe are really one and the same: or as Mr. Henke puts it "the universe is the macrocosm and each human mind is a microcosm." The Japanese school like Wang Yang Ming taught the identity of knowledge and conduct.

If Mr. Henke had added a comparative vocabulary of Chinese and Foreign terms it would have greatly increased the value of the work to students of Chinese literature. He does put the Chinese terms in a few cases in the text. If he could publish a separate vocabulary of corresponding terms he would confer a boon on students who might follow in his steps and study the work in the original.

The book arrived too late for review in last year's Journal, but though late we should like to call attention of our readers to this very valuable work now.

M.

Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism. By ANANDA COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc., with illustrations in colour by ABANINDRO NATH TAGORE C.I.E. and NANDA LAL BOSE, and thirty-two reproductions in black and white from photographs. (London : George G. Harrap & Co. 1916.)

The author of this book has for many years enjoyed a European reputation as an exponent and interpreter of the artistic ideals and achievements of India, and he is the leading spirit and the most active member of the India Society, which exists for the purpose of promoting the study and

appreciation of the aesthetic culture of our Indian Empire. Among his books (some of which have been produced under the auspices of the Society) are *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, *The Indian Craftsman*, *Thirty Songs from the Panjab and Kashmir*, *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, *Indian Drawings* (Series i and ii), *Selected Examples of Indian Art*, and *Rajput Painting*. Quite lately (1917) he has published, in collaboration with another, *The Mirror of Gesture*, which is a translation of the *Abhinaya Darpana* of Nandikésvara.

It is worth while indicating the subjects upon which Dr. Coomaraswamy has been hitherto engaged, and upon which he is an acknowledged expert, because a perusal of the list will reveal the fact that Buddhism does not appear to be a subject in which he has sought to qualify himself by special study. He has, indeed, published a work entitled *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*—a book originally designed by Sister Nivedita but left unfinished by her when she died in 1911; but this book contains a great deal more about Hinduism than about Buddhism,—indeed the space allotted to Buddhism amounts to only one tenth of the whole. As a matter of fact Dr. Coomaraswamy, in spite of the years spent by him in the predominantly Buddhist environment of Ceylon, is not a Buddhist but a Vedantist; and this explains two facts connected with his new book on Buddhism. The first is that it contains little that is new, little that will entitle it to be regarded as of independent authoritative value; the second is that the author's attitude towards Buddhism as a religion is not entirely sympathetic, and will probably be regarded, in Buddhist circles, as to some extent unfair.

Dr. Coomaraswamy's preface goes far to disarm criticism, for in it he repudiates all claim to originality or to independent research. He says "it will be plainly seen to what extent I am indebted to the work of other scholars and students, and I wish to make a frank and grateful acknowledgment to all those from whose work I have freely quoted." (p. vii.) There are, indeed, few sections of the book—those on "Buddhism and Brahmanism" and "Buddhist Art" are perhaps the only exceptions—which do not reveal very considerable indebtedness to other writers.

He tells us in his preface that his aim is not to add to our "already overburdened libraries of information" but to provide "a definite contribution to the philosophy of life" (p. vi.) I do not propose in this brief review to consider whether perplexed and harassed Europe may expect to derive help from Dr. Coomaraswamy's pages towards the solution of the innumerable problems—social, religious and philosophic—that are oppressing the minds of all Western thinkers in these dark days; I may venture to question, however, whether he is justified in assuming that books of "information" on Buddhism are no longer needed. That books which profess to give information on Buddhism would fill a library, is undoubtedly true; but it may be seriously doubted whether a score of really adequate

and trustworthy books on Buddhism have yet been published in any European language. With regard to the Mahāyāna, which has only lately begun to be seriously studied in the West, it is safe to say that no Western writer has yet produced an account of this form of Buddhism which would be accepted by an educated Mahāyāna-Buddhist as a thoroughly sound, faithful and fair presentation of his creed. A few valuable books in English and other European languages have been written by cultivated Japanese scholars such as Mr. D. T. Suzuki, Professor Kaiten Nukariya and Professor Anesaki; but as to the books on the Mahāyāna hitherto produced by English, French and other Western students, they can only be regarded as temporary makeshifts. I do not know of a single one which is likely to stand the test of time or which has the least chance of establishing itself as a permanent authority. This would be readily admitted, let us hope, by the authors themselves, who, if their interest in the subject is genuine and non-egotistic, should be the first to welcome the dawn of the day which will consign their pioneering efforts to the rubbish-heap or the papermill. When Mahāyāna Buddhism has been thoroughly explored, its sūtras and other writings adequately translated, and its philosophy expounded with knowledge, sympathy and insight by fully competent Western scholars, it is by no means impossible that Christendom will be conscious of receiving a somewhat disconcerting shock to its spiritual pride. So far, the Western world has hardly moved beyond the stage of regarding the Mahāyāna as a childish medley of grotesque imaginings; but for this attitude the West is not to blame, inasmuch as it has naturally judged the Mahāyāna by the evidence given by writers whose books were vitiated by imperfect acquaintance with their subject, by religious prejudice, or by a lack of capacity for discerning spiritual truths when expressed through the medium of an alien religious structure.

Dr. Coomaraswamy's book is sub-divided into five parts. Part i tells again the well-known story of the life and death of the historical Buddha and the rise of the monkhood. Part ii is entitled "The Gospel of Early Buddhism." Specially worthy of attention is the thoughtful and judicious discussion of Nibbāna (Nirvāna), pp. 115 f. Under the sub-title "Ethics" there are some excellent remarks on the moral and social aspects of monasticism (pp. 127 f.) The analysis of the Buddhist conception of Conscience (pp. 137 f.) is also of value. Part iii gives short accounts of some of the various philosophic and religious systems which were contemporary with Buddhism. The section on "Buddhism" and "Brahmanism" (pp. 198 f.) is one which is likely to meet with much adverse criticism, but it deserves to be read with care. Dr. Coomaraswamy's readers may not agree with him in the conclusions at which he arrives in his comparison of the two systems—Buddhists will certainly reject his views as erroneous—but at any rate it is interesting to hear so accomplished an exponent of Vedantic idealism as Dr. Coomaraswamy explaining in lucid language what

he believes to have been the mistakes and misunderstandings of the early Buddhists, especially with regard to their doctrine of *Anattā*. The author will perhaps find it difficult to defend all the positions he has taken up; there is reason to believe, however, that early Buddhism was much nearer orthodox Indian thought than is usually supposed, and it is at least conceivable that some of the differences between Buddhism and Brahmanism were brought about by mere tricks of dialectic.

It has been remarked above that the section on "Buddhism and Brahmanism" is one of the few which give evidence of independent thought. The sections on the *Mahāyāna* cannot be brought within the same category, for it is evident that Dr. Coomaraswamy has no first-hand knowledge of Buddhism as it is taught in China and Japan and is unacquainted with the Chinese language. The views with which he expresses agreement are not, however, views with which the present writer is likely to quarrel. It is pleasant to note Dr. Coomaraswamy's acceptance of the opinion that there is no unbridgeable chasm between the early *Theravāda* and the later *Mahāyāna*. "Let us recognize," he says, "that there exists no breach of continuity between the old and the new laws, and that the *Mahāyāna* and the later expansion of Hinduism are the very fruit of the earlier discipline. From this point of view it becomes of the utmost interest to seek out and recognize in early Buddhist thought the unmistakable germs which are afterward fully developed in the *Mahāyāna*, especially the *Mahāyāna* of the Zen type, and which in alliance with Taoist philosophy effected a reconciliation of religion with the world." (p. 175, cf. pp. 223 f.) He points out later that the development of the *Mayāyāna* from early Buddhist psychology "is nearly parallel to the development of mediaeval Hinduism on the basis of the pure idealism of the *Upanishads*." (p. 226.)

In discussing the relative ethical positions of the two forms of Buddhism he defends the ideal of the *arahat* against those who charge it with selfishness. Such critics, he rightly says, "do not sufficiently realize that a selfish being could not possibly become an *arahat*." ⁽¹⁾ (p. 228.)

In the last section—that on Buddhist Art—Dr. Coomaraswamy deals with a subject which he has made his own, and this part of the book is sure to be welcomed by a large circle of readers. He takes an unfavourable view of the Graeco-Buddhist art of *Gandhāra*, which has attracted so much attention in recent years owing to its influence on the development of Buddhist sculpture in China. He says "the actual

⁽¹⁾ I may perhaps be permitted to refer to p. 73 of "Buddhist China," in which the same view is indicated in the following words: "In finding fault with the Hinayanist ideal, the Mahayanist failed to realize that a selfish being could not become an *arahat*." I regret to say that I must plead guilty to having misled Dr. Coomaraswamy in the matter of a quotation. On p. 240 he cites a passage from Duns Scotus. The author of the passage was not Duns Scotus but a very different person—Johannes Scotus Erigena. The mistake occurs on pp. 108 and 120 of "Buddhist China," from which it is evident that Dr. Coomaraswamy borrowed the quotation together with the mistake.

art of Gandhāra gives the impression of profound insincerity, for the complacent expression and somewhat foppish costume of the Bodhisattvas, and the effeminate and listless gesture of the Buddha figures, but faintly express the spiritual energy of Buddhist thought." (p. 329.)

The book is copiously illustrated, mainly with photographs of temples and images in different parts of the Buddhist world, and many of these have been selected with care and skill with a view to illustrating the various phases through which Buddhist art has passed in different countries and ages. Readers who are familiar with current literature on Buddhism and Art will be disappointed to find that many of the illustrations are already familiar to them owing to their having appeared, in one form or another, in various modern publications. There are eight coloured reproductions of drawings by Nanda Lāl Bose and Abanindro Nāth Tagore, but it is disconcerting to find that no fewer than three of these admirable plates (numbers vi, vii. and viii) have been reproduced from one of Dr. Coomaraswamy's own earlier books—the *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*—a work which was issued by the same publishers. The practice of using the illustrations of an earlier book to meet the pictorial requirements of a later one is a rather prevalent and regrettable feature in modern book-making. Perhaps it is due to the publishers, resigned acquiescence in the painful fact that the lives of the vast majority of modern books are very short, and that most readers may be safely trusted to have forgotten to-day the pages that attracted their lively interest a few months ago.

Though Dr. Coomaraswamy is not himself a Buddhist and makes no attempt to press Buddhism upon the Western world as a panacea for its woes, he is generous in his admission that the Buddhist ethic, properly understood, "must for ever command our deepest sympathy and most profound consideration." He gives frank expression to his belief that Buddhism is not without its message for the tempest-tossed and hate-riven Europe of to-day. "At this moment," he says, "when the Western world is beginning to realize that it has failed to attain the fruit of life in a society based on competition and self-assertion, there lies a profound significance in the discovery of Asiatic thought, where it is affirmed with no uncertain voice that the fruit of life can only be attained in a society based on the conception of moral order and mutual responsibility. Let me illustrate by a single quotation the marvellous directness and sincerity of the social ethic to which the psychology of Buddhism affords its sanction: "*Victory breeds hatred, for the conquered is unhappy.*" (p. vi.) With this may be compared the remarkable utterance of the Buddhist king Dutthagāmanī, quoted on p. 300.—"Looking back upon his glorious victory, great though it was, he knew no joy, remembering that thereby was wrought the destruction of millions of beings."

Dr. Coomaraswamy might have further illustrated this aspect of Buddhist thought by some beautiful words which are to be found at the beginning of that wonderful book *The Dhammapada*, and which he himself quotes in a different connexion in his section on Buddhist literature :—
 “All that we are is the result of what we have thought : it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him. ‘He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,’—in those who harbour such thoughts hatred will never cease. ‘He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,’—in those who do not harbour such thoughts hatred will cease. For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time : hatred ceases by love, this is an old rule.”

This was an “old rule” more than two thousand years ago. Humanity is strangely backward and lethargic about putting into actual practice, in its social and political relationships, those admirable rules which it has framed with such splendid sagacity for its own moral guidance.

R. F. J.

Buddhist Art in Its Relation to Buddhist Ideas with special Reference to Buddhism in Japan. By M. ANESAKI, M.A., LITT. D., Professor of the Science of Religion in the Imperial University of Tokyo, etc. (London : John Murray, 1916).

The name of Dr. M. Anesaki is well known to all students of Buddhism, who are aware that everything from his pen is the trustworthy work of a scholar who really knows Buddhism from the inside. To Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* he has contributed valuable articles on various subjects connected with Buddhism ; he has recently published a work on the Buddhist prophet Nichiren ; he has promised us a book on *The Religious and Moral Development of the Japanese* ; and he is preparing for publication a series of lectures which he has delivered at Harvard University on *Japanese Art in its relation to Social Life*.

The admirable work now before us is based on lectures given by Dr. Anesaki at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. It contains a large number of excellent plates, most of which give representations of numerous paintings and other articles which form part of that Museum's magnificent Japanese art-collections. The Museum is indeed to be congratulated on its treasures, and on having had so well-qualified a lecturer as Dr. Anesaki to lead them to the spiritual sources which have fed the great river of Japanese religious art.

Little need be said about the plates. The majority consist of black and white reproductions of paintings by famous Japanese artists, some of which—for example, the Zen landscape by Sesshiu (plate xxix)—have been already reproduced elsewhere. One plate—the first—is in colour.

It is a painting of Amida, Kwannon and Seishi, and is believed by Dr. Anesaki to be the genuine work of the tenth century artist to whom tradition has assigned it—Eshin Sozu Genshin, “the Fra Angelico of Japan”. Plates xlv and xlv give interesting examples of the burlesque treatment of Buddhist subjects to which Dr. Anesaki refers on p. 59 of the text. In a footnote he mentions “the legend of Fugen [the Chinese P’u-Hsien] appearing as a courtesan in order to convert her suitors to religion”. In his next edition he might amplify this footnote by referring his readers to *The Kokka*, No. 318, p. 112, where the legend is narrated.

Dr. Anesaki has an admirable command of English, and most of his readers will have only one fault to find with the text—that there is too little of it. The plates are so numerous that the book appears to be a large one; but appearances are deceptive, for there are only four short chapters which together occupy no more than 62 pages. Yet a great amount of most valuable matter has been compressed into these narrow limits, and the book is sure to receive a hearty welcome from at least two classes of readers—students of Buddhism and students of Oriental art. What is more, the book ought to go far towards bringing about a coalescence of these two classes of readers. It should convince students of Buddhism that they can never hope to come close to the heart of that religion unless they study the history and the underlying motives of the wonderful creations through which it has found artistic expression; and it should convince the others that if they wish to acquire more than a superficial knowledge of Chinese art they must be prepared to make a sympathetic study of Buddhism. In Dr. Anesaki’s book there is much that should help the Western world to realise something of the intimate association that exists, and *must* exist, between religion and art both in Japan and in Buddhist China.

He rightly begins by correcting some erroneous notions that exist in Christendom as to what Buddhism really is. “Curiously there prevails in the West an impression that Buddhism is a religion of mere negation and pure abstraction. Here I shall not argue. I simply wish to point out that he will never understand Buddhist art who does not free his mind from such a preconception. Buddhism exhorts its followers to overstep the bounds of self and enter the ideal community of spiritual life. This teaching is, to be sure, a negation of the bondage of individual limitations; but it is equally an affirmation of a life broader than the individual. It may be called withdrawal from the material world, but it is also an entrance into the larger world of ideals. It was this breadth of mental vista and depth of sympathy that made Buddhism a universal religion and gave inspiration to artistic genius. The ideal of the Buddhist faith consists in realizing, through spiritual experience and in moral acts, the continuity of life in man and nature and the fellowship of all beings.

This ideal was the soil which nourished the stem of the Buddhist religion and the flowers of Buddhist art." (pp. 1-2.)

Having said so much by way of introduction, Dr. Anesaki proceeds to give a short account of the historical environment of early Buddhism in India. He discerns in the Hinayāna "the subtle but close connexion between religious faith and artistic inspiration," and shows with penetrative sympathy how "the source of the artistic inspiration which Buddhism developed so opulently" was the Buddha himself. The Buddha became "the fountain-head of an inexhaustible inspiration in religion and morals, in art and poetry" (p. 8.) He was an artist, "not in the sense that he ever worked with brush and chisel, but in the sense that his perception of life was artistic." He "perceived in man and in nature the vital and sympathetic tie which bound them to his own soul. . . . Nothing is left outside the bounds of his sympathy; all is vivified by the touch of personal relation. This is the process of idealization, the secret of artistic creation; and Buddha grasped this secret in his conception of universal communion and through his training in the transformed life." (p. 6.) The Buddha, we are told, "was a man of vision in the best sense, and it is perhaps beyond our power to estimate how vividly he realized the continuity of life through his spiritual eyes. But, on the other hand, Buddhism is by no means a religion of mere ecstasy. Its meditative training, together with the practice of charity in various ways, results in a total transformation of life through the realization, first in idea and then in acts, of one's spiritual connexion and sympathetic accord with mankind and surrounding nature." (pp. 6-7.)

Dr. Anesaki tells us of the intense love of the Buddhist for wild nature, animate and inanimate—to the Buddhist there is hardly a dividing line between those two categories; and he emphasises the vital part which that love of nature played and still plays in the Buddhist conception of life.

Leaving the so-called Small Vehicle, Dr. Anesaki passes on to deal in greater detail with the Mahāyāna, in which "developed" form of Buddhism the connexion between religion and art "becomes more manifest and vital." (p. 13.) He believes that the Mahāyāna—called by him the Broader Communion—was a "tremendous force to inspire the artistic sense of the Buddhists." It is perhaps worthy of passing notice—in view of certain rash theories put forth recently—that according to Dr. Anesaki the books of the Mahāyāna "seem to have taken their present form during centuries in the pre-Christian era." (p. 13, footnote.)

Dr. Anesaki again and again lays stress on the fact that the religious and artistic conceptions with which Buddhism inspired the Japanese were mainly derived from the ideal of spiritual communion between man and nature, between man and all beings in the universe, sentient and non-sentient. "The realization of a universal spiritual communion," he says, "is the fundamental ideal of the Buddhist religion" (p. 38.) It was this ideal, he says, that "gave to Buddhism the power of expansion beyond the boundaries of nations,

fired its adherents with missionary zeal, and inspired the imagination of its artists and poets. One who can appreciate this ideal will understand Buddhist art, and will discover in the hearts of the Japanese a tone of tenderness and a depth of sympathy which are the essential conditions of artistic creation and enjoyment." (p. 30.)

On this subject a reference may be allowed to another of Dr. Anesaki's writings—his able essay on Buddhist Morality in Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopaedia* (vol. v. p. 454.) There he points out how Buddhist philosophy "broadened the people's moral ideal so as to admit all beings to their spiritual communion, and to extend their sympathy toward even animals and plants." It was thus, he shows, that Buddhist morality "has become connected with poetry and plastic arts. Aesthetic sense among them is derived from the source of mental training, and is manifested in their daily life."

Concerning the Buddhist temples with which Japan was adorned from the seventh century onwards, he remarks that they were places "not only of worship but also of learning, where philosophy and music were taught, and moral discipline was inculcated. Moreover, charitable institutions, such as hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries, were attached to them, as means of putting the Buddhist ideal of universal love into actual practice. The whole foundation thus served as a focus of the Buddhist religion, morality and art which now became integral parts of the national life" (p. 21)

Some remarks made by Dr. Anesaki on the subject of the influence of Buddhism on political ideals are of special interest in these days of hate and strife, especially when we remember that the lectures on which the book is founded were delivered a few months before the outbreak of the great war. "The Buddhist gospel of an all-embracing spiritual communion which could be realized in human life, was preached to the East and West, imbuing its converts everywhere with an aspiration for universal communion. . . . These teachings, formulated in doctrines, practised in conduct and expressed in art, exercised a great influence also upon the political ideals of nations, by convincing government leaders that the state should be not merely a political organisation of might and right, but an institution for the advancement of spiritual harmony and moral edification among the people as a unified body." (p. 19.) He goes on to show how in Japan Buddhist ideals became conspicuously powerful in other than purely religious spheres, and brought about a "close connexion between religious faith, state organization and artistic achievement." He recalls the significant fact that the benign prince Shōtoku (whose regency lasted from 593 to 622) is not only revered as one of the true patron-founders of Buddhism in Japan but also as the patron saint of artists. Thus in Prince Shōtoku we may well recognize a personification of a sublime Buddhist ideal, the co-ordination of religion and art and all human activities, political, social and moral, in one spiritual synthesis.

The limits of space to which Dr. Anesaki confined himself made it impossible for him to give us a full interpretation of the spiritual teachings of the different sects. He has a good deal to tell us, however, of the Shingon and Zen sects, both of which are of great importance in connexion with Buddhist art. He regards Shingon as containing "an extremely comprehensive and striking combination of spiritual ideals and material embodiment, of speculative thought and mystic ritual, and in a union of the Buddhist, Hindu, Persian, Chinese and Japanese pantheons into one cycle centred in Buddha." (p. 31.) He says it is a matter of pride among the Shingon Buddhists "that they serve truth and beauty at the same time and by the same act. In a word, the worship of Divinity should not and cannot be dissociated from the cult of beauty, and art, therefore, must be an integral part of religion" (p. 42.)

The fourth and last chapter contains a remarkably fine delineation of the Zen (Chinese *Ch'an*) school of Buddhist thought; and shows how "as a method of achieving a union of the individual soul with the cosmic spirit, Zen training manifested itself in art of a transcendental kind" (p. 53); and he shows how "there is in Japan hardly a form of thought or activity"—from abstruse metaphysics to flower-arrangement and tea-drinking—"that Zen has not touched and inspired with its ideal of simple beauty." (pp. 53-4). He emphasises, as might have been expected, the importance of Zen theory and practice in developing landscape-painting in China and Japan, especially that astonishing monochrome work which many Orientals and some Europeans regard as the finest artistic product of the East. He rightly draws attention to the close connexion between Zen Buddhism and Taoist philosophy (pp. 55-6), and indeed he might have stressed this matter a little more strongly than he has done. He admits that "in many cases a Zenist or a Taoist cannot be distinguished," but it may be doubted whether full justice has yet been done by Dr. Anesaki or by any other writer to the very great—perhaps predominant—influence of Taoist conceptions in the development of Ch'an (Zen) philosophy. He remarks, for example, that the aesthetic sense developed by Zen culture "consisted essentially in disinterested observation and penetrating insight which produced a feeling of intimacy with the universe and caused man to mould his life and taste in accordance with the 'air-rhythm' of nature" (p. 53); but the same words might have been used in describing the aims of Taoist culture, and it is well to remember that in respect of these fundamental conceptions Taoism cannot be regarded as a borrower.

It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Anesaki, as a true Buddhist, shows no taint of ill-feeling towards other faiths; and it is typical of the true catholicity of his spiritual outlook that he has dedicated his book to "the pious and beautiful soul of Saint Francis of Assisi." In his Preface he gives a charming account of how he came to make this dedication. During his early student years in Japan and Europe, a revival of Buddhist idealism

became a powerful factor in the development of his mental life, and this Buddhist influence was by no means obscured or weakened as a result of his contact with, and appreciation of, Western ideals and Christian art. "My journeys in Italy in 1902 and 1908," he says, "had the effect of awakening my remembrance of Buddhist art, and thus a high admiration for Buddhist painting has become inseparably connected with a similar feeling for that of the Italian Quattrocentists, just as my devotion to Honen, the pietist saint of Japanese Buddhism, has been linked with my reverent attachment to the Christian saint who preached to birds and wrote the Canticle of the Sun." He adds a few words which show that he is not oblivious of the existence of one terribly ugly feature of the religious life of the Christian West—its intolerance of, and contempt for, all non-Christian manifestations of the religious spirit. He hopes that his Catholic friends, and especially those of the Order of Minor Friars, will not regard it as a *sacrilege* that he should have associated the name of that tenderest of Christian saints with a work on the spiritual and artistic ideals of Buddhism. It would be difficult to imagine a better example of how to combine a most graceful compliment with a delicate and tactful rebuke. Whether the Franciscans will complain of the "sacrilege" or not, is a matter which need not concern us, especially as we may feel sure that no complaint would have been uttered by St. Francis himself. Perhaps it may be suspected that St. Francis's true spiritual kinsmen, had he only known it, lived not in Rome or Assisi or even on Mount Subasio, but in Kyoto or Nara or on Koyasan, and possibly amid the romantic hills and forests of South China and the Yangtse Valley. However that may be, we may feel sure that no Buddhist pilgrim would have experienced anything but pleasure if, on his journey up the steep slopes of the mountain of spiritual vision, he had made the acquaintance of that Christian saint who made a companion of "the ferocious wolf of Agobio" and preached his Gospel to his "little sisters the birds."

Dr. Anesaki is Professor of the Science of Religion in the Imperial University of Tokyo. The University is fortunate in having as its exponent of that science one who is so singularly sensitive to the "beauty of holiness" wherever he finds it.

R. F. J.

The Historical Developement of Religion in China. W. J. CLENNELL.

Some years ago, an enquiry after the health of the author of this book elicited the following reply, "Oh, he has a touch of fever to-day and so has been lying up and reading Chinese history." That was the literature which appealed to Mr. Clennell under conditions which would make most of us satisfied with an old volume of Punch. This trivial anecdote gives a key to this book. It is the work of a man who has steeped himself so thoroughly

in his subject and is so much at home with his authorities that his references are rather by way of allusions than the usual quotations and footnotes. It is a method which appeals to the ignorant reader by the flattering suggestion that he, too, knows, and only needs to be reminded, until his conscience, awakened, takes note of many wasted hours, and almost unconsciously, a resolve to study more, forms itself in his mind.

Those who are familiar with Chinese literature and thought will have their own criticisms to make on this book; what chiefly impresses the ignorant reader is the sympathy with which the religion of another people is studied. So frequently emphasis is placed on the difference between the Chinese and ourselves, until it would appear that we can have nothing in common with them. But Mr. Clennell shows how the different aspects of religion in China are akin to various manifestations and developments more familiar to us. He emphasises the points which we have in common, giving us a picture of fellow human beings, rather than of yellow mysteries! His sketch of Confucius, for example, shows a wonderful likeness to a certain type of English gentlemen! Very interesting, by the way, is his discrimination between the original Confucian teaching and that of the Confucian Renaissance. And most illuminating is the description of the three religions of China as representing different moods of the soul rather than separate and exclusive religions. Confucianism, appealing to man in his ordinary workaday life. Taoism, to the world of wonder and poetry and mystery. Buddhism, to deeper feelings which the other two cannot satisfy. And sympathy with these forms of religion does not blind the author to their defects, and the way in which Christianity may supply their lack, by its greater energy and hopefulness.

In his preface, Mr. Clennell apologizes for a shifting of the view point which has taken place since the book was written; but his remarks about the civil wars in China during the last century might well serve as a message of hopefulness for the struggle in which we are all more immediately interested at present. "It is in such purging fires that all great forward movements of mankind are born; they are the price of human progress, the pledge that advancement will be permanent, will be valued, will be worth while."

ADA HODGES.

Chinese Lyrics: By PAI TA-SHUN, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd.

In one of his lyrics, the majority of which were published in "Harper's Weekly," Mr. Pai Ta-Shun sings:

That Art. is best which gives
To the soul's range no bound;
Something beside the form,
Something beside the sound.

Exactly ; and were we to apply this precept to his songs we would find them something lacking in those very qualities of vision and of suggestiveness which, though common to all great poetry, are the peculiar graces of Chinese. Mr. Cranmer-Byng (editor of the "Wisdom of the East" series) says : "The whole idea of a Chinese poet is to condense and suggest." Vision is thought condensed and infiltrated through the purest channels of the mind. Not a poet of China, from the dark period of the Odes (1765 to 585 B.C.) to the more recent days of the Ming and Manchu dynasties, but has been equipped with the power of celebrating, in succinctest melody, the beauty of earth or the beauty of man, whether sorrowful or bold. Especially the beauty of earth. Long centuries before meadow, grove and stream to Wordsworth,

did seem

Apparell'd in celestial light,

The glory and the freshness of a dream,

the Chinese balladist of the eighth century was identifying himself with Nature.

I arise with the stars exultantly and follow
The sweep of the moon along the hushing stream,
Where no birds wake ; only the far-drawn sigh
Of many voices whispering farewell.

These lines, brimming with suggestion, yet not less firm in outline than the design of a painting of Kuo Hsi, are written in a tradition which it is necessary to understand before the spurious Chinese lyric—that abounding weed of many soils—can be distinguished from the genuine.

It might be erected into a rule that in the fields of Chinese poetry the sun always shines, touching into many colours that do not clash, the capital and coveted symbols of the Chinese poet : the moon and the dragons and the flowers. This sun is the happiness of the True Way—the great oriental avenue to peace of mind—the simple justification of life, which would appear to consist in being of the world, yet not worldly, in experiencing all things, yet, as Stevenson phrased it, in preserving one's first and pure enjoyment of existence. Firm in this philosophy, with the very base of civilization to stand upon, eminently conscious of his spiritual heritage—the cumulated wisdom of the master-craftsmen who, in some remoter dynasty, sang of the fairness of his country and the pride of his people, the poet of China swerves little between the points of his tradition and indeed does not desire to, knowing that whether celebrating the tomes of an old library with their "pendant discs of jade" or voicing his autumn thoughts, he is forever treading the True Way.

We would hazard that Mr. Pai Ta-Shun's lyrics are not translations from the Chinese but products of a western mind contemplating rather with clearness than with vision such subjects as we conventionally associate with the Flowery Kingdom : bronze, pottery, temple bells, wild

geese, and a very aviary of birds. His treatment of them is simple and direct; his lyrics are neatly phrased and sometimes musical. We like particularly the two last stanzas of "Pottery":

From the mixed clays and colors
Of far-sought mine and mart,
Whirled on the wheel of magic
Grew dream-stuff of the heart.

We wrested from the ages
And wrought in face of death
The rainbow of the spirit
In forms as frail as breath.

"The Phoenix" is more typical of his manner:

Thou goest down in splendour
O gorgeous Bird of Dawn,
With rose and violet pinions,
Now flaming and now gone.

But from the night's gray ashes
Thou risest up serene,
Immortal and yet mortal
With wings of rainbow sheen.

Far flicker golden feathers
Like rays twixt sky and earth,
From out the purple nimbus
That curtains thy rebirth.

It is the kind of picture one would expect to find painted or printed on a fan whose city of origin is certainly not in China; but none the less pleasing to those who do not bother their heads about tradition and the True Way.

It may be noted that the book is attractively bound in silk-covered boards and illustrated by lithographs of not inappropriate Chinese paintings.

D. K.

The Industrial and Social Importance of Forestry in China.

By FORSYTHE SHERFESEE. Privately printed in Peking 1916.

This pamphlet gives a lucid and brief summary of the need for alleviating what may be regarded as one of the great sorrows of China—the senseless tree denudation due to the undisciplined condition of the country through want of directing force. And it is to be expected that, although the government has the advantage of the advice of experts like the author, the country will be unable to benefit until the government actually is able to govern. At present China is in a condition where the

bully and the brawler and the assassin are in the ascendant and where greasy priests, brawling dogs and down-at-heels soldiers symbolise a democracy which has little idea of disciplined government and where bribery and robbery flourish. The greater part of China is indeed denuded of timber through frantic effort to provide fuel for preparing food for an excessive population. The author shows that wood is a fundamental requirement of all countries as there is no proper substitute for it, and the want of it is a severe handicap in world rivalry. That a great agricultural country like China should have to import ordinary timber is a natural absurdity. Apart from the value of timber itself, of equal if not greater importance is the value of woods and forests in preventing floods, droughts and soil erosion, with resulting distress and famine. Trees retain moisture like a sponge, preventing excessive evaporation and hold the soil together in a way, the beneficence of which is seldom fully realised. China is the shocking example of forest neglect, and in no other country has deforestation been carried to so extreme a point.

A. S.

Early Chinese Painting. By WILLIAM E. GATES. The Aryan Theosophical Press. Point Loma, California, 1916.

This panegyric of Professor Gates gives an illuminating brief exposition of a subject already treated in a similar though more complete and poetical manner by Laurence Binyon of the British Museum. The author develops his subject from the leading motive that Chinese art and technique is based on the early landscape painting. He contrasts the monocular, photographic and scientific perspective of the West with what he describes as 'immeasurably the deeper, fuller, more developed and expressive, perspective of the East as constructed in the 'mind's eye.' No argument can, however, dispel the æsthetic shock which the isometrical treatment of some common angular object in the foreground of many a Chinese painting gives rise to. The author states with especial emphasis that Eastern perspective is free from geometrical limitations but omits the statement of the bald fact that Chinese artists did not make studies direct from nature, which is rightly the basis of western landscape art, preferring rather to follow Wutaotseu, who said that it was not necessary to make actual studies in situ but rather to carry them stored away in the heart. This is the essential basis of the intellectual element in Chinese painting; but to compare it with the aims of western landscape art, which is the actual realisation of the beautiful in Nature as seen in the artist's eye, is to compare what is to a large extent the painting of figments of the imagination with something which is more essentially beautiful, that is to say, nature itself. There are greater beauties in nature than have ever arisen from the imagination of man. Chinese Art, therefore, is not a

transcendent form of art but should rather be regarded as a stage, and indeed a somewhat early stage, in the evolution of art. Apart from this Professor Gates' brochure is an interesting and very appreciative commentary on Chinese painting illustrated by well selected and well reproduced examples.

A. S.

The China Year Book 1916. By H. T. MONTAGUE BELL and H. G. W. WOODHEAD. London: George Routledge and Son.

Considering the difficulty in collecting accurate data about China, especially from native sources, the China Year Book is a creditable compilation. The arrangement is such as to afford facilities in the future for amplification in certain subjects after excision of matter that may be regarded as redundant. The commercial section provides much useful information and includes a list of factories in China which indicates the directions in which the country is beginning to develop its own resources. The Who's Who is a distinctly useful feature; especially to the many who are unable to distinguish the names of these Chinese who emerge as actual entities from among the mighty masses of the people. An interesting section on opium may almost be regarded as a swan song. The Year Book concludes with a useful and very necessary index.

A. S.

The Tariff Problem in China. By CHIN CHU, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents.

We have here a book of 192 pp. of timely matter on a highly important subject. China has made a new departure. She has thrown in her lot, at least to a limited extent, with the Entente against the Central European Powers, and there is said to be a clear understanding that, as part of the agreement in connexion with that fact, a revision of the Chinese tariff is to be undertaken within a reasonable time. When that time arrives there cannot fail to be a very considerable demand for Dr. Chu's book.

What response will it make? Is the work thoroughly reliable, or must it be taken *cum grano*? The reply to these questions may be seen from what is now to follow. Dr. Chu is Chinese, and, as is natural, his sympathies are with his people and to some extent against the outsider. At the same time he has tried, not altogether without success, to sit in judgment and deliver an unbiassed verdict. On such points as official corruption he has no doubt, but a good deal of it has been due, as he points out, to the system under which the administration was carried on. He is very strong on the necessity of a complete change regarding the whole subject of tariff revision, and discusses it under its political, economic, and other aspects.

Likin come in for a great deal of notice. Transit duties are discussed at length. The rise of the Imperial Maritime Customs, and its more recent expansion is related. There is a chapter on Frontier and "Regular" Customs Tariffs, and another is devoted to a consideration of what China's commercial policy should be.

With regard to the last we may conveniently sum up here the conclusions to which the author has come. China's policy he says should be directed to—1. The restoration of tariff rights. 2. The removal of every obstacle to industry and commerce. 3. The government and supervision of new industries. 4. Special favours for particular industries, and 5. The adoption of a progressive and far-sighted policy. At all costs, he says, the importation of foreign capital and skill must be encouraged. It will be seen, therefore, that whatever criticism of detail may fall to the lot of this programme, the reader must allow that it has breadth.

We now proceed to show where our author has—doubtless inadvertently—fallen short of his own aim. He tells us in his preface that the second object he had in view was to show "the Chinese government and people how far they have themselves been responsible for such unreasonable arrangements in the past." Perhaps it did not occur that he was prejudging the whole case when he penned that word "unreasonable", for it would be quite easy to show, did space permit, that there was nothing in the early treaties that was really unreasonable when all the facts were considered.

The absurdly low tariff, as our author thinks it, was based to some extent on what China had herself laid down as fair before the period of Canton squeezing came into fashion. It was not, as he seems to think, the British and American who selected Canton as the "staple" of trade. Far from it. They were driven there from other ports. It is equally wrong to say that there was no recognition of trade before 1842. There had been an officially recognised foreign trade in China for centuries. Neither did the treaties, when they came, ignore the provinces and their autonomous system. They intentionally did everything they could to place all possible responsibility on Peking, and both British and American policy steadily pursued this object through thick and thin after their dear-bought experience in Canton. Equally incorrect is it to say that trade was not encouraged. Quite the reverse, and for the best of reasons—the officials made piles of money out of it. Dr. Chu refers in several places to consular iniquities, as a rule traceable to merchant consuls. There were Consular iniquities of that sort. We could give chapter and verse for them. But the learned doctor fails to make it clear that every one of these corrupt proceedings was worked hand in glove with native officials. Nor does he make it quite clear, as he would have done had he known all the ins and outs of the matter, that from the start all British Consuls were official, not mercantile, and that their practice was to work the tariff with absolute

impartiality, and, where that was impossible, with a leaning towards the native side for which they were often denounced by their own countrymen.

Dr. Chu speaks of the secret introduction of opium into Canton after the edict condemning it. There was secrecy, but it was Chinese secrecy. There was no attempt to hide the British and American receiving ships at Lintin. Chinese officials regularly visited them, and native revenue cruisers were constantly in their neighbourhood. If Dr. Chu's knowledge of the tricks of transit passes were a little fuller he would more justly apportion the blame, and if he knew the inner history of Wu Taotai, alias Wu Samqua, as we do, he would have left unsaid certain things regarding the smuggling of the days immediately succeeding the capture of the city of Shanghai by the Triad rebels, or at any rate the things said would have been expressed differently. Nowhere does our author show why the collection of duties by foreigners always results in an increase of revenue. He contrasts the salaries of Customs officials with those of the old mandarins, but he does not say how much the native secured beyond his pay!

Such are some of the points to which passing criticism may be attached. They are more likely to do harm to native than to foreign readers since the former may not be able to see where bias has been at play to the detriment of complete truth. But after all said and done, such blemishes are of small importance. The great facts are laid down in black and white. They have never before been collected, and the world at large is indebted to Dr. Chu in no small degree for the work he has undertaken and so successfully carried out. If he and his readers will but remember a single fact connected with the relationship of China with the west during the period under review, if they will carefully bear in mind the all-important truth that the China of 1842 and the China of 1917 are two almost entirely different lands, they will be able to see that some things which to-day seem out of place, and even fundamentally wrong, were by no means so eighty years ago. It is an extremely common fallacy which permits men to judge one period by the conditions of another. But where common sense is, no such error will be allowed. What the world has to consider with regard to the older Chinese tariffs is, not what is right and proper in 1917, but what was fitting under the conditions of 1842, 1858, and so on. It is not a single foreign country that is concerned. Almost all the world has a share, and of this, the writer is quite sure that the nation whose portion still remains predominant will be the first to meet China half way in any equitable change.

G. L.

Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin, 殷虛卜辭. By JAMES MELLON MENZIES, B.A.SC., ETC. Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1917.

A man who had studied Chinese for two years recently discovered for himself that the origin and development of Chinese characters must be an

interesting study, and he asked the reviewer whether anything had been done in that line! Alas for CHALMERS, FABER, CHALFANT, WIEGER, HOPKINS and the rest, not to mention HSÜ SHEN!

The Oracle-bones, (for a general account of which see this Journal for 1914), were discovered some 17 years ago. It was at once recognized that they were of the greatest importance for philological research, though their full value is not even yet appreciated. But the fact that they contain Chinese characters written not less than 3,000 years ago must be at least interesting to every serious student of the language.

A good deal of nonsense has been written by those who analyse Chinese characters as they are at present written. No conclusions can be drawn unless we have a character as it was originally formed. In many cases it is idle to hope for the earliest form, but the Oracle bones give us some thousands of characters in a very early stage of their development, the earliest we can hope for. These are indeed so archaic that the majority are still unidentified. Mr. L. C. HOPKINS has summed up the results attained so far in his *Archives of an Oracle*, (R.A.S. Journal, 1916.)

For the purpose of study one must have access either to a collection of the bone fragments or to books of facsimiles of inscriptions. There are several Museum collections but they have not been published. Nearly all the inscriptions on these collections were carefully copied by Dr. F. H. CHALFANT, but he died, and the work has not been published, through lack of money, that is, of public scientific spirit. The only other collection published are the Chinese works by LIU TIEH-YÜN and LO CHEN-YU, but these are hard to get.

Mr. Menzies had the advantage of living near the spot where the bones were discovered and he became an enthusiastic collector and a keen student of the subject. Instead of waiting till some public institution would find the funds for publishing, he took the bull by the horns in a remarkable way, and had a select number of facsimiles *lithographed in the interior of China*. Few can understand what labour this must have involved. The result is quite satisfactory for those who wish to study the inscriptions, and the small edition printed is now offered to the small public which is worthy.

The volume is, however, only a collection, without interpretation or notes. In a preface written just before starting for the War, Mr. MENZIES makes some promises which are quite astonishing. The volume is to be the beginning of a work on Prehistoric China. A second volume is to contain studies of the characters in volume I and of Chinese writing generally. Later volumes are to deal with the early civilization and religion of China as revealed by these inscriptions and by other objects obtained by the author from the same locality.

Mr. MENZIES has done so much in the few years he has been in China that we feel confident he has a great deal to say that will be of value, and that this great plan only needs time and opportunity for him to carry it out.

For our own sakes, and with much impatience, we look for his safe return from the front and for the early issue of his researches. In the meanwhile, those are fortunate who secure copies of this first volume.

S. C.

Variétés Sinologiques. Nos. 44, 45, 46—Recherches sur Les Superstitions en Chine. Par Le P. HENRI DORE, S.J. Chang-hai, Imprimerie De T'ou-sè-wé. 1915-1916.

Three new volumes of this important work have appeared. The previous volumes were reviewed in Vols. 45 and 46 of this Journal. The appreciation of the work expressed in the two previous reviews may be extended to these new volumes. They are crammed full of Les Superstitions (the Pantheon Chinois.) They embrace the Dieux, Immortels Genies of Taoism (Tome IX.) "Ministères transcendants" fills up (Tome X), and Tome XI is wholly occupied with "Dieux protecteurs et patrons." These volumes like their predecessors are abundantly illustrated. They are superbly prepared, and offer rich mines of information to the students of comparative religion and those who are curious of such subjects.

The Gateway to China. By MARY NINDE GAMEWELL. Revel and Co., Boston.

This is a very entertaining book. The reader will gain a vivid and comprehensive view of Shanghai as it is to-day. Mrs. Gamewell must have made diligent search for all the institutions which she portrays in this volume. It covers a wide range of subjects. Civic features, streets, shops, vehicles, the school room, publishing houses, the Customs, weddings, philanthropies, mills and missions occupy a share of attention. Mrs. Gamewell must have consumed many note books. It is evident that the impressions were immediately transferred to writing and so the freshness of first impressions were preserved. This possibly accounts for a certain lack of sequence which is evident occasionally.

This book is a volume of pictures and peeps into Shanghai as it is. It should only be judged as such. The historian of course would call for a further treatment of Shanghai as the Gateway of China from his own point of view; and so again in dealing with the modern schools no mention is made of the splendid work of the Municipalities for foreign Children. Even Mrs. Gamewell's own experience when she was told that "we have never tried to publish a guide to Shanghai because in six months it would be out of date" was prophetic of the German institutions she praises so highly (p. 102). This has now been cleared away.

This volume then does not profess to be a historical record, but pictures of and peeps into Shanghai life. Mrs. Gamewell would depict the

ultra modern Chinese life as found in a Treaty Port ; a phase which has become conspicuous since 1900 and more especially since the First Revolution. In this she has succeeded extremely well, the 'Pictures' of which she speaks are as hard in outline, as vivid in colouring, and as utterly devoid of background, as are the charming little rice paper Christmas cards, "made in Canton" which one may purchase in their dainty glass-topped boxes and send to Europe as true pictures of China.

These indubitably are truthful ; one can, however, obtain from them but isolated impressions, impressions which without any realization as to the "whence and whither" have but a momentary value. There are various inaccuracies such as the following : p. 47. In the French Concession, the avenue formerly called "Paul Brunat," after the first French Consul, etc. The first French Consul was the Conte de Montigny ; and Mr. Paul Brunat was a successful silk merchant who filled the post of President of the French Municipal Council. On page 13 the statement is made "Shanghai means 'mart on the Sea'"; it is difficult to know with what stretch of imagination Mrs. Gamewell reads the meaning of "mart" into the Shang 上 used for Shanghai—Is she not possibly thinking of Shang 商 which might, conceivably, be rendered in such a sense?

Contemporary Politics in the Far East. By STANLEY K. HORNBECK. Appleton & Co., New York and London.

The *raison d'être* of this book is given in the Publishers' Foreward as follows :

"After the war in Europe the political adjustment between China and Japan, and China and the nations of Europe, will be subject for discussion and conjecture for years to come. Foreseeing the need of a comprehensive volume on the subject and one that would be of interest to the general reader, the author, who is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, and who has spent a great deal of time in the Far East, has out of the great wealth of his experience and knowledge of the subject, prepared a volume dealing with current political institutions and current political tendencies in China and Japan. The Chinese period extends from the beginning of the Revolution in which the Republic was established through the return to monarchy ; the Japanese from the landing of Commodore Perry up to the coronation of the present Emperor. The book contains so much new material that it will appeal to all who are interested in government and politics whether in the East or in the West."

The author in his Preface says—

"There have been written within the past twenty years scores of books on Japan, many on China, and not a few on the Far East in general. Most of these books are either very broad or very special in their choice and treatment of subjects. Few have been devoted exclusively to politics. There

is not one, so far as the writer knows, which has undertaken to give within a single cover a brief account of Chinese politics, of Japanese politics, and of some of the outstanding features of the international situation in the Far East. This the present book attempts to do.

"Seven years ago the writer went to China to observe at first hand certain institutions and movements in which he had long been interested. He lived, traveled and studied in the Far East for five years. His own experience in endeavoring to acquire a working knowledge of the instruments, motives and forces which underlie and contribute to or make the problems of Far Eastern politics, together with experience in attempting to answer a variety of questions which are asked in this country with regard to these problems, has convinced him that an effort to make available within one volume concise accounts of a considerable number of related phenomena such as form the subjects of the following chapters should serve a useful purpose. By giving historical resumé's ; by describing constitutions and constitutional theories ; by explaining the genesis and programs of political parties, and the origins, objects, accomplishments, and apparent tendencies of various policies, he has sought to construct a book of facts which will contribute to an understanding of certain institutions, lines of development and problems of the present moment."

Book I discusses "Politics in China and Japan." Six chapters are devoted to China, from the Revolution in 1911 to the Return (or effort to return) to Monarchy in 1915 and 1916. Four chapters discuss affairs in Japan from "The Rise of Japan As a Modern Power" to "Count Okuma and the Present Regime." Book II discusses "Contemporary Relations: China, Japan, and the United States." This is divided into two parts—"The Recent Past" and "The Recent Past and Present." Five chapters under The Recent Past, discuss, Japan : Steps On the Road to Empire : The Passing of Korea : The Opening of China and the Scramble for Concessions ; The Open Door Policy ; Japan's Challenge to Russia and Entrance into Manchuria ; and South Manchuria : Ten Years of Japanese Rule. Under the head of "Recent Past and the Present," the following five subjects are treated : 1, Japan and Germany. The Place in the Far East ; 2, Japan and China : Negotiations and Agreements of 1915. 3, Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Asia. 4, Japan and the United States. 5, China and the United States. In the seven Appendices are given a number of important and interesting documents which ought to be studied by all who wish to keep *au courant* with political movements in the Far East.

Mr. Hornbeck has done his work well and although he expresses some opinions about which his readers may hold different views, yet his book is a valuable contribution to the discussion of the national development and international relationships of these old far eastern countries that are to have so much to do with the new world that is growing up around the Pacific Basin.

A. P. P.

Synopsis of Chinese History, and Friendly Books on Far Cathay. Compiled by FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

The interest taken by our Honorary Librarian in books on China and in Chinese research generally, is sufficiently well known to be a guarantee that when she offers anything to the public, it will be something well worth reading or listening to.

In the booklet under review, Mrs. Ayscough has packed some 30 pages with well-selected matter which will be of great value to newer residents in China, and which older students will be glad to have for reference. The synopsis of history is the best we have seen in so little space. It gives the principal landmarks, with occasional details, from B.C. 2852 down to the death of Yuan Shi Kai.

The list of "Friendly Books" will be a boon to many prospective readers. The classification used is that employed in our Society's Library, and the numbers given are those allotted to the various books in the same library, which greatly facilitates the securing of any book by those near enough to take advantage thereof. Two further classifications are into "A.—Books easily read." and "B.—Books of a more technical nature."

We heartily recommend this little book to all who are interested in Chinese bibliography, and especially to those beginning the study of the Chinese language, people, or history.

I. M.

The Educational Directory of China, 1916. Shanghai. Chester, Cowen & Co. \$3 net.

This useful volume makes its third appearance. It is divided into 3 Parts. Part 1 deals with the important subjects that seem prominent for this year, though we fail to see why the American School finds a place in it, as the theme does not lead to the contribution of any fundamental ideas. Parts 2 and 3 are the direction of teachers and schools. We have noticed a few errors such as p. 20, Part 3, where Miss S. Priest is stated to be the Principal of the Eliza Yates School.

We should like to suggest that the matters of Fees be made a little clearer. Do they all include Board? For instance St. John's fees are given as \$220 : Nanking \$128 : on page 47. The school in Taikhsien has the fees at \$5. Does this include Board?

The book is intolerable in one respect, the interspersing of advertisements and letterpress. It is quite difficult to find the fly-leaf. Heath & Co. obtrude themselves between The Preface and List of Abbreviations. Part 1 is followed by an Index, but before we came to the reading matter, we are invited "To think it over" with sundry other exhortations to be keen on advertising, and get on. No book can be self respecting and dignified under these conditions. Education is reduced to the level of Punch and Judy.

M.

The Early History of Chengtu. From the Chou to the close of the Shu Han Dynasty. By Rev. T. TORRANCE.

In this booklet of 18 pages, Mr. Torrance gives an interesting account of a period of history, and of a part of China, of which Westerners know but little. In the preface it is said that "Chinese rulers have always regarded Sze Ch'wan as the key to the Empire. The safety of the Dynasty lay bound up in its possession. For these reasons the story of the city and the province is one of fascinating interest."

In this sketch we see the right setting of Li Ping, the famous irrigator, whose wonderful feat in the Chengtu plain is summed up in the statement that "for over 2,000 years there has been no famine there; on the contrary, it has been the granary of West China." The glimpses we get of the people and customs of those early days are refreshing.

The story of the Three Kingdoms is briefly given, the popular heroes Ts'ao Ts'ao and Chu Ko Liang are again staged before us, and political conditions down to the third century of our era are outlined.

This little book will be found instructive by those interested in the subject.

I. M.

A Character Study in Mandarin Colloquial. Prepared By CHAUNCEY GOODRICH.

This is the Second Edition of a work published first nearly 20 years ago and consisting of a useful collection of combinations of characters and sentences in Mandarin colloquial. Dr. Goodrich says that recently the call for this volume has become insistent, and as changes and additions have been made, there will doubtless be a useful place for this new edition. As no translations of the sentences are given, it is pre-supposed that the reader already has a fair knowledge of Chinese Characters. The beginner will not find as much help in this book as in some others which are available in these days.

Over 400 different characters are alphabetically arranged, for easy reference. The sentences given under each are varied, and a knowledge of them would greatly enrich one's vocabulary. The type is very clear, and the book is of a handy size and of good appearance. Many students will be glad to have this additional help.

I. M.

Mandarin and Missionary in Cathay. By REV. E. F. BORST-SMITH, F.R.G.S.

This book consists of three parts, the second and third of which contain a fascinating story of heroic work nobly done by missionaries in a prefecture of Shensi. The difficulties, and the successive steps in overcoming them, are described in an interesting manner, and the account

of perils from revolutionaries and from robbers will be read with a thrill. The whole story calls forth our admiration. It is typical of what could be written about very many brave men and women scattered throughout China, and who are comparatively unknown.

Part I of the book is that which will have special interest for many members of our Society, as it gives an admirable survey of Chinese history, especially in relation to the province of Shensi and the city of Yen-anfu, in the neighbourhood of which have occurred many of the stirring events of the past. Besides drawing largely on Dr. Pott's "Sketch of Chinese History"—with due acknowledgments—the Author has had access to ancient annals carefully preserved locally, and has also gleaned much from the traditions of the people. These, supplemented by his own observations, have enabled him to give in brief compass, the outstanding events from the reign of Hwang Ti (B.C. 2697), whose tomb is in the neighbourhood, down to the activities of the White Wolf, and to the opening of oil fields by an up-to-date Oil Company. Naturally the events are touched lightly, but probably as much is given as the general reader will care for, and quite enough to greatly increase one's interest in the district referred to.

Our Author gives 1830 as the time of the beginning of the T'ai P'ing rebellion, hereby differing from Dr. Pott and other historians. In the year named, the founder of that rebellion was a youth in his teens.

The book is illustrated by many excellent photographs, and has two sketch maps.

I. M.

Present-Day China. By GARDNER L. HARDING, New York, 1916.

On page nine of *Present-Day China* the author records his belief that the Chinese Revolution has not failed. And at the top of page ten he writes that the Revolution was a "glorious failure." Occasional inconsistencies of this nature are the penalty of a scrupulous impartiality and most students will be ready to make allowances for them. Mr. Harding is a serious seeker of the truth, and it is no discredit to his sincerity if his pronouncements are at times, like those of jesting Pilate, a little vague. It is the principal virtue of a study like this, unpretentious and confessedly the work of a non-specialist, that it offers views independent of, and sometimes juster than, the dicta of specialists, the "old hands," and those who by mere length of days have acquired the gift of false prophecy. Mr. Harding's estimate of Yuan-Shih-k'ai, for instance, which at the time he formed it, would have been derided by some as the view of a novice, has been justified by history. And in the course of his rapid survey, fragmentary though it necessarily is, he touches at times upon features of the Chinese scene which remain unnoticed by "authorities." His general object, as he defines it, has been to "interpret

the quality of mind which produced the Revolution." With a mixture of candour and generosity which is essentially American, he has faced not unsuccessfully that delicate task. But besides considering some of the forces which produced the Revolution, he illustrates the productiveness of a republican régime and the quality of the democratic climate, favourable to the growth of good causes ; and this point, if the book made no other, is one extremely well worth emphasizing. Among the fruits of the Republic it seems, however, incorrect to include the anti-footbinding movement, which, if we mistake not, is the result of a campaign begun and waged by an English lady, years before the abdication of Hsuan T'ung.

It is perhaps not necessary to dilate upon minor inaccuracies in a work of this kind. But one of the most prominent of modern Chinese names—that of Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao—is strangely mis-spelt.

In his short sketch of Mr. K'ang Yu-wei, Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao relates a touching story of one of the former's early teachers, a scholar of that distinguished type which has not passed away but was respected at that time perhaps more than it is now. His proficiency in classical learning had won him a wide esteem, in that critical age, in his district of Kuangtung. But when near the end of his life he requested that his writings on the Classics be destroyed, "fearing that they would be of small service to the new China" ("but his pupils," adds the biographer, "regretted it.") One may believe that that "old stager" would have appreciated the spirit of this little American book, which "is written with enthusiasm for Young China, and with respect for old China," and exhibits an impartiality not always found in studies of China, whether of the new or the old.

B.

Les Marchands Européens en Cochîn Chine et au Tonkin (1600-1775.) BY CH. B. MAYBON, Hanoi. *La Revue Indochinoise*, 1916.

This memoir is written by a specialist and is distinguished by the merits proper to a specialist's work. It offers a large store of information concerning an interesting and not too familiar chapter in the history of Europeans in Asia. It can be read through in a few hours, but that its ninety pages are the fruit of prolonged studies is proved by the erudition displayed in the copious footnotes, and not less by the succinctness and lucidity of the narrative.

Very curious must have been the conditions of life in the 17th century in the port of Fai-fo, "le plus beau port ou arrivent tous les étrangers," and where foreigners lived in a kind of settlement, or group of settlements, the Chinese and Japanese, who formed the majority, having each their district where they dwelt according to their respective customs and under

their own rulers. This is interesting in view of modern parallels. Curious also is the history of the earliest enterprises of the French (who were among the least active at first,) confined almost entirely to a few transactions by missionaries posing as traders—a singular instance of the sheep appearing in the wolf's clothing.

It was beside the author's purpose to develop general ideas from the accumulation of facts at his command. A few, however, emerge. One cannot help being impressed by the marked and suggestive prominence of cannons and ammunition in the list of European imports. And there are some interesting pages on the help sought from Europeans by native potentates in their struggles with one another: "*Un des traits les plus caractéristiques de leurs relation avec l'occident.*" Noticeable, too, is the way in which commercial rivalry between the foreign traders,—Portuguese, Dutch, and English,—developed into a strife more estranging than the racial cleavage which is supposed to sunder "East and West."

Relations of intimacy do not appear to have been established between the Annamites and their visitors at any time before the events leading to the French occupation. For a long time the Europeans seem to have felt for the Annamites little or none of that sympathy which most oriental peoples have generally been able to excite in pioneers, often in a memorable degree. One cause lay perhaps in "*la défiance qu'inspire le malheur.*" A consequence of the fact must be that the early history of Europeans in Annam can never have the same interest as their first adventures in the greater eastern countries. But an authoritative and clear record of that history is none the less a necessary and valuable addition to the materials for the study of the advance of Western influence in Asia.

B. P.

Report on the Hydrographic of the Whangpoo.

This is a report to the Whangpoo Conservancy Board by its Engineer-in-Chief, Mr. H. von Heidenstam. It is strictly technical in its form, and consequently will have no considerable interest to the layman. Its value—which is undoubtedly great—lies in the fact that it deals with the hydrographical conditions of a large tidal river—large at least for European and American conditions—on which hydrographic information is very scant and that it is the first of its kind prepared in China. It will, it is understood, be shortly followed by a more extensive one dealing with the relations of the Yangtse Estuary to the Whangpoo.

In a previous report *i.e.*, "Project for the continued Whangpoo Regulations," Mr. von Heidenstam indicated the necessity for a continued hydrographic service in the Whangpoo which would record:—

- (1) The variation in the river bed.
- (2) The tidal action (rise, propagation, currents, etc.)
- (3) The silt carrying capacity.

"As nothing that happens in the regime of the river is accidental but always traceable to distinct, if sometimes distant causes, it is important to have at every moment a clear general view of the changes of the conditions of water and current, which renders it possible to see beforehand the development of these causes of coming changes in the river bed."

The present report is the outcome of the above recommendations and indicates the organization, equipment, methods, typical results and partial analysis of the data acquired.

Section 1.—Deals with the personnel and the scope of the work. Maps of the Whangpoo and of its approximate watershed are given.

Section 2.—Details the nature of the equipment, including tidepoles, automatic tidegauges, electric current meters, water sampling apparatus and boats. Photographs and line drawings illustrate the principal types.

Section 3.—Deals with methods of observing and computing hydrographic data. It commences by pointing out that all the tidal observations have been reduced to one level datum, viz.: Woosung Custom Zero. Typical tidal curves are given showing the changes from Side Saddle Island to Sungkiang. The methods of computing discharges are next given. The laying out and surveying of a standard Section, the positions in which the current meters are placed and computation of the discharge are described in considerable detail, and are illustrated by photographs and diagrams. The section concludes by describing the methods of taking water samples, for the purpose of finding the silt content.

Section 4.—Summarizes the hydrographic work performed.

Section 5.—Gives information as to the classification and analysis of the data obtained. The tidal wave and its propagation is first mentioned and is illustrated by graphs of simultaneous tidal curves for the various stations on the Whangpoo and profiles of the water surface from Hsi Tai Lake to Woosung Forts at one hour intervals.

The variations of current velocity in the cross section of the stream is next dealt with. A large number of curves are given showing the velocities of different depths in the same vertical together with cross sections showing "contours" of equal velocity at various stages of the tide.

The computation of the discharges for the velocities and areas is then described, and some comparisons of discharge with the water slopes.

Next follow diagrams and tables of silt content, which is compared with that of other rivers. The question of specific gravity and its relation to the silt content is then discussed.

From the area of the watershed and Zikawei meteorological observations, an attempt is then made to show the probable "run-off" from the whole basin.

Finally the principal features of an investigation into the "coefficient of roughness", as defined in the usual formulae for flow in open channels,

are given for the Whangpoo, and comparisons made with smaller local creeks with the same river-bed material.

The report gives an impression of technical thoroughness and completeness that is gratifying to those having the interests of Shanghai at heart.

W. F. T.

Notes on Chinese Painting with Reproductions from my Collection. BY R. D. ABRAHAM.

This is a charming book of which but a limited edition, for private circulation, has been published.

In the preface Mr. Abraham describes himself as an "amateur" collector of Chinese paintings, and states that the notes which accompany the illustrations are intended for beginners only.—Were all students to approach the study of Oriental Art in the same sympathetic spirit as that adopted by the author, great strides might be made towards the complete comprehension of this Art; to which end all are striving.

Most interesting are the translations of the eulogies by famous Chinese critics inscribed on the various paintings; these disclose the attitude of mind in which the Oriental envisages works of art. The pictures, many of which are of great interest and charm, are reproduced by a series of remarkable photographs.

It is interesting to note that, in Mr. Abraham's opinion, modern Chinese art has not received the attention it deserves, and that the closer study of Chinese painting (which he strongly urges) will reveal the fact that, although it does not attain the great height of earlier periods, Chinese art of the later dynasties should not be ignored.

In support of this view, in which he is in agreement with no lesser an authority than Prof. Hirth, see reproductions Nos. 41, 44, 53, 54, 55, 56, etc. The open-minded searcher for truth will then be forced to admit that it is not possible to judge the creations of a nation solely according to the *date* of their production.

F. A.

Our Eastern Question. By Thomas F. MILLARD. The Century Co., New York.

The author is a well known writer on Eastern politics and has already given us two widely read books. "The New Far East" and "America and the Far Eastern Question." He resided in the Far East for several years, and as Editor of "The China Press" had many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the movements going on in this part of the world.

A glance at the Table of Contents of the present volume is sufficient to show that the questions discussed are ones of grave importance at the present time. Whether one agrees with all the deductions of the writer or

not, yet one must feel that we are indebted to him for a clear and forcible statement of the present Eastern situation.

Political speculation is proverbially difficult, but the author has the courage of his convictions and has but little hesitation in forecasting what may take place in the future. We doubt whether any one can really know at the present time what will happen in the East after the close of the Great War. There are so many factors to be taken into consideration that the problem is exceedingly complex.

We do not want to be hypercritical, but in his desire to prove his main thesis, namely, that the present policy of Japan is a menace to the future peace of the world, the author is apt to indulge at times in overstatement or understatement of facts.

It is extremely unlikely from what we know of Germany's methods of war that the policy of the neutralization of Tsingtau could have been successfully carried out. Germany's promises are not to be relied upon, and if German interests in Tsingtau had been left undisturbed, there would have been no guarantee for the safety of commerce in the Pacific Ocean. We do not defend Japan in her methods of interfering in Shantung and violating the neutrality of China, but at the same time we feel that it would have been foolish in the extreme to have allowed German influence to have dominated Tsingtau.

Again in discussing the Anglo-Japanese alliance, the difficulties in which it has landed England are clearly portrayed, but Mr. Millard forgot to tell us what might have happened if England had declined to enter into this alliance, and if Japan had formed one with Germany instead. Japan was anxious for a European ally and it is generally supposed that if her offer to England had been refused, she would have turned to Germany.

Furthermore when he comes to discuss the sudden moderation of the Japanese demands on China, and the withdrawal for the time being of Group V, he is silent as to the part Great Britain played in the matter. He shows how little attention Japan has paid to criticisms of her policy on the part of the United States, and has pointed out the weakness of American foreign policy, and it is difficult for us to believe that representations made by the United States Government could have induced Japan to show fairer treatment to China. We can also hardly imagine that her unpopularity in China was the determining factor, causing a change of tactics. Although unpublished to the world, so that the *amour propre* of Japan should not be hurt, the strenuous opposition of Great Britain had a great deal to do in calling a halt on Japan. Great Britain certainly was unwilling to allow Japan to threaten British commercial interests in Central China in the way she intended.

The Anglo-Japanese alliance has proved in many ways mutually beneficial to both countries. The conflicting interests of the two countries especially from a commercial point of view, are, however, becoming more

and more evident. It is quite possible that when the treaty expires it will not be renewed. To frighten the United States by proclaiming that this alliance may one day lead to a simultaneous attack on that country, by Great Britain on the East and by Japan on the West, seems to us absurd. The author is creating an imaginary bogey. [See pages 237 and 238]

Entirely apart from sentiment, the interests of Great Britain are better served by friendship with the United States than by an alliance with Japan.

When he comes to describe the attitude of Japan towards the United States, we cannot feel that Mr. Millard writes without bias. He seems to have the preconceived notion that Japan's policy of expansion looks toward the West rather than towards the East, and that she has Mexico and South America in mind as her natural outlets. Because of this he thinks she will be led to attack the United States and to weaken her to such an extent that it will not be possible for her to oppose the carrying out of Japan's plans for expansion on the Western Continent.

We agree with the author that Japan realises that her commercial interests and those of the United States will lead to friction, especially in China, and that she does not really favor the policy of the Hay Doctrine of the Open Door. The conflicting interests of the two countries may lead to hostilities, and naturally Japan is preparing herself so as to be in a position to cope with the United States. This is different, however, from saying that she is plotting to bring on a war with the United States. We imagine that as long as possible she would like to avoid coming to blows with that country. Indeed such a war would probably be a setback to her real policy, which is expansion in the East. Japan would much prefer to keep at peace with the United States and go on with her policy of gaining political and commercial control in the Far East than to have a war, the results of which might be disastrous to her future development.

There are other slight criticisms we might give of the book. In some places the English is faulty. This of course may be due to poor proof reading. For instance such sentences as the following are hardly correct: "Was and still is *predicated* on military and naval force," and "Almost without important exception, leading British newspapers in the Far East depreciated (deprecated?) Japan's aggression" (p. 288.) The statement on p. 345 that Shintoism is a form of Buddhism is quite misleading.

Putting criticism aside, the book is one of much value. It is a strong indictment of Japan's policy in China. Making every allowance for possible overstatement Mr. Millard has proved that Japan is unscrupulous and selfish in her plan of gaining control over China. He pricks the bubble of the Japanese Monroe doctrine and shows how different her interpretation of the doctrine is from that of the United States in regard to South America. Only to a most superficial thinker could Japan's policy in China be considered analogous to that of the United States towards the South American.

republics. The latter says, "no political interference by any one in the development of these countries": the former says, no political interference by any one *except Japan* in the development of China.

Mr. Millard also shows that if Japan is allowed to continue her policy it means virtually the closing of the door in China to Western capital and commerce except as permitted by Japan, and points out what this will mean to the United States when after the war she seeks for markets for her expanding trade and for fresh outlets for her accumulated capital.

There are some that would advocate giving Japan a free hand in Asia, and of allowing her to dominate the East. In a book, recently published, Mr. Taraknath Das has tried to prove that the real foe of Asia is the white man. He raises the cry of Asia for the Asiatics and he would like to see the hegemony assumed by Japan. He even ventures to suggest that Japan is inspired by altruistic motives in all that she is doing.

To our way of thinking this lining up of the East against the West would lead to another great world war. In some ways it might be more trouble than the present conflict for it would be *racial*, not *national*. As we have said, however, it is foolish to attempt to prophesy. It seems unlikely that this barrier of demarcation between East and West will ever be raised again. The day has passed for that and the trend is all the other way.

If one ventures to forecast one of the results of this war, in regard to the Far East we would say, we believe that all the European powers will join in preserving the sovereignty and integrity of China, and will adopt the policy of the open door and equal opportunity. We do not think that any one nation will be permitted to dominate China, least of all Japan. Mr. Millard has gathered much material together and the appendices giving important documents connected with international relations are not the least valuable part of his book.

He has written in such a way as to excite thought, and to make us appreciate what great issues are at stake in the Far East.

China. An Interpretation. J. W. BASHFORD.

There used to be a saying, already old when this reviewer came to China, that only the tourist dared to pronounce judgments on the whole of this vast empire. For, just as the steady study of the language has destroyed the imaginative "translations" that supported the pleasing idea of Chinese absurdities in thought and has slowly established the fact that in Chinese you can, provided you know enough of its character and composition, express anything exactly, so the labours and the reports of a host of modest residents, content to become familiar with their own neighbourhoods, have proved that to essay a trustworthy picture of China and its people is a task on a par with a general gazetteer of Europe.

True it is that nowadays there are plenty of authorities from which to compile. That, however, merely throws the difficulty back a step, for to judge among the authorities presupposes tremendous knowledge on the part of the compiler, who otherwise is sure to cling to one or two and, by giving long lists, unconsciously to deceive the reader into believing in an agreement that does not exist.

Bishop Bashford perceives the difficulty sketched above and meets it boldly in the preface to his stout volume. Every reader will judge for himself or herself whether or no the elaborate defence justifies the work, which, the author proudly tells us in the preface to the second edition, has been favorably reviewed in America; but of which this reviewer has seen no notice in China itself.

Chapter I on China and the World introduces us to the categorical treatment and the lavish citation of authorities that are features of the work. The Bishop accepts the most ample reports of China's population and the most favourable ideas of the natural advantages of the country; and he gives the people the excellent character for sobriety, industry, etc., which other tourists have noticed. In using the word "tourist" all that is meant is that the author is not a permanent resident, whose views grow up unconsciously from his experience and his studies. Thus, as to population, actual examination, by comparison with a similar area in a British Colony inhabited by Chinese, corroborated by official census-takers cut down the accepted population of a large city by over 60 *per cent*: the reading of Chinese histories shows a succession of war, pestilence and famine that will not go with our author's idealistic pronouncements. As to the salubrity of much of the country residents will smile and sigh.

We venture to suggest a prosaic explanation for the Chinese desire for sons—the struggle for existence in a society where the weakest very literally goes to the wall. And so with the other ascriptions to virtue of the consequences of that struggle.

Chapter II on Industrial life in China is very pretty; but is it safe to take as gospel the elaborate systems set forth in the Classics? In modern days we residents are all familiar with the beautiful sets of regulations on all sorts of subjects that pour from Chinese offices and do not get themselves working at all. Bishop Bashford says on p. 44 "iron mines were opened in very early ages." One wonders if his American readers have any idea of what sort of mines these were: some of us have seen the miners of coal in the interior crawl into a hole in a hillside dragging a small rough sled and crawl back with a scuttle load on it. It would be wearisome to examine all the cheerful generalisations that adorn this chapter. China had a civilisation of the kind environment fostered but it was not the kind that we know as civilisation.

In Chapter III Commercial Life in China is seen through the same tinted glasses. On p. 78 there is an example of dogmatic explanation of a

big event. There we are told that the Boxer Uprising was due, "though by no means the only reason for that struggle," to the loss of work caused by the displacement of other traffic by the Peking-Tientsin Railway! This is followed on pages 84 and 85 by advice to those about to build railways in China. On p. 89 reappears the old old charge that the Chinese language is "a clumsy vehicle of thought." One wonders what the Chinese think of some of our own philosophical lucubrations.

Next comes a chapter on Educational Life in China which takes for granted the actual lively working of the courses of study, the colleges approved in 1912, and repeats the stock stories of Chinese encouragement of learning. The absence of an alphabet is of course lamented.

In "Woman's Life in China" there is nothing to remark upon.

The most amusing statement in Chapter VI "Life reflected in Literature" is that it takes eight or ten years to learn the Chinese characters, as though the ordinary gentleman had to know all Kanghi. Surely the author might have left this, if not other chapters, to be dealt with by the patient and prosaic expert. The alphabet, whose creation is taken for granted on p. 158, still tarries. Seven pages of selection from Scarborough's Proverbs, instead of Dr. Smith's, are presented to the public.

Chapters VII, VIII and IX on Taoism, Confucius and the Confucian School follow. They are naturally compilations. It is pleasant to find an appreciation of the Sage, whom Dr. Legge's solemn pen turned into a wooden image; but Bishop Bashford might well have read Mencius more thoroughly and pointed out how "modern" he was.

Chapter X on Religious Life and Struggles is satisfactory, especially the summary on pages 257-260. It reads as though written independently and later inserted in this book. "Son of Heaven" is a grotesque literalism that should be dropped, like "fairy bridge," "need be of heaven" and the rest.

In Chapter XI Chinese Law enables the author to indulge his fondness for categories up to no less than ten. Students of Chinese history and literature will enjoy parts of this chapter—especially page 273 as to the prevention of drunkenness and page 286 as to official corruption, that hoary sinner which is now bound in the vicious circle 'reform impossible without upright officials, upright officials ungettable without reform.'

Chapter XII on Political Life in China is like other chapters beautiful in its simple acceptance of the theoretical system of taxation in China and on p. 310 supplies one of the frequent examples of the author's anti-British attitude.

Then we have a *résumé* of Messrs. Bland and Backhouse's China under the Empress Dowager with the famous diary kept by a timid man whose son hated him for the purpose, apparently, of increasing his own personal risk! It is all most interesting, if true: but after all this chapter rather spoils the trim of the author's vessel freighted with China generally by long pages on the early story of one of China's Rulers.

The rest of the book explains the revolution. 'The Transition: Prince Chun's Regency' (Chapter XIV) has a journalistic flavour of omniscience. It is a little bewildering on pages 332 and 333 to have frank approval of a successful bit of diplomatic lying by which Prince Chun avoided kotowing to the Kaiser. Great Britain and opium, on the contrary, here and in Chapter XVIII, are perhaps on the Hudibras couplet's theory of 'damning sins you have no mind to,' belaboured in what one hoped was a decently buried system of abuse. Prince Chun, friend of a U.S. Minister, is in fact belauded most heartily.

Chapter XV on the Revolution starts with a fresh explanation of the Boxer madness as due to foreign humiliation of China. There follow thin appreciations of Sun Yat Sen and others, chiefly remarkable for the note on page 352 which is not very pleasant reading for Japanese or Dr. Sun, just as pages 363-365 read as peculiarly indiscreet. One has always to remember that this book was presumably compiled for the American public early in the war.

Chapter XVI on 'China and Japan reveals the Bishop as statesman. Page 403 *et seq* read curiously at this later date.

Chapter XVII on China and the United States is chiefly concerned with assuring China that Codlin is her friend not Short. It is, therefore, better left uncriticised, though one cannot miss the original ascription (page 426) of the Tientsin massacre to England's opium policy and the ingenious scheme of capturing China's trade which closes the chapter.

Chapter XVIII China and the World (again) begins with a sort of Yellow Peril account of the future which passes on page 458 into a sermon—ending with an opinion that "internationalism will be the key in the political history of the twentieth century and after." We had rather use the term "enlightened charity" than "internationalism," which is consistent with the utmost selfish regard for sectional interests. On pages 480 *et seq* the world is instructed on the measures to ward off the Yellow Peril and benefit the United States. Of these the fifth is to water down Exclusion cautiously.

Chapter XIX merely preserves an address given by the author on the occasion of memorial services of Yuan Shih-kai.

There follow appendices on population of China; vegetable oils; methods of irrigation in China; list of plants, etc.; classes of society; courses of study, etc., etc. up to Appendix XIV Outline of Chinese History.

Finally comes an Index of 14 pages.

We have dealt frankly with this work because we think it likely to do more harm than good. It professes to tackle an immense subject, and its spirit is neither modest nor indeed charitable. The relations of China and the Chinese with foreign nations and residents have suffered more from the evil habit of one foreigner decrying another and boasting himself than from any other causes. And here we have a Bishop brandishing the club of my country right or wrong in amazing fashion.

The Encyclopaedia Sinica. S. COULING, M.A., London: Oxford, University Press. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd.

The compilation of indexes, dictionaries, and cyclopaedias is surely the most self-denying form of literary labour. There is comparatively so little to show for the many hours of toil: and the least lack of constant vigilance is so sure of earning reprobation. For fine writing there is not the least opening; and at best the reward in the gratitude of students never reaches the ears of the weary compiler whose virtue must indeed be its own reward. To the encyclopaedia is specially applicable what is written above with the added difficulties of selecting the multitudinous subjects, apportioning the length of the articles to their importance, and judging the relative weight of authorities.

The progress of the study of the language, literature, and history of a foreign nation is gauged pretty accurately by the appearance of these works of reference and their growing size and complexity. All students of China and Chinese will agree that Mr. Couling's task would have been premature, though doubtless far easier, twenty or even ten years ago when we were content with less ambitious collections of explanations of things Chinese.

It is of course very hard to review a cyclopaedia until one has tested its value in everyday working, and full appreciation is impossible when, as in the present case, the reviewer has only a small portion of the work to judge by and lacks the introductory statement of the compiler who is alone in a position to set forth his methods, his aims and his system.

Nevertheless this reviewer has nothing but praise to tender to Mr. Couling. The reading, for reading is the proper term, of the first fifty pages of his work proved unexpectedly interesting and the inspection of a further part in galley proof served but to increase one's respect for his sound judgment and infinite patience. Some of the longer entries—on such subjects as audiences, Boxerism, law, post offices, geology, zoology, masonry, the various missions, etc.—must have entailed toil that is simply enormous as well as perpetual taste and good judgment. The short notices of persons are, apparently, both concise and adequate. In fact the whole treatment of a vast and exceedingly complex subject seems as catholic as it is satisfactory so far as one can judge from a small sample.

The form, paper and print are all good. The maker's relief over the completion of his gigantic labour of love will doubtless be paralleled by the comfort of students saved from the weary work of trying to trace references or get together what is known about things Chinese. Characters are given when necessary and authorities practically always, together with an observance of cross-references. The only seeming incongruity noticed was the reference at the end of the short note on that lamented eccentric genius E. C. Baber to Bretschneider's *History of European Botanical Discoveries*! The only apparent inaccuracy that attracted attention

was under Butterfly Chuang, our recollection being that the philosopher posed the doubt whether he was Chuang, dreaming himself a butterfly or a butterfly dreaming himself a philosopher.

One is tempted to discuss many of the interesting subjects dealt with in the portion available ; but, once started, such lucubrations need never come to an end. Suffice it to say that there has been noted no trace of narrowness or prejudice in a work bristling with controversial opportunities. In many instances one thinks of other authorities than those relied upon and one may think those other authorities more sound ; but after all the choice of authorities is a personal privilege very well earned by the maker of such a worthy work as this.

E. H. FRASER.

Is Japan a Menace to Asia ? By TARAKNATH DAS, A.M.,
Shanghai, 1917.

It is to be noted that the printers of this small book are not mentioned. It is not surprising. There is nothing original about the booklet. It is simply a string of quotations put together without literary form or logical sequence. It is a patchwork. The appendix which figures largely in the title page was not prepared for this work. Therefore the manner of advertisement is not quite true. To this patchwork of quotations Mr. Tang Shao I has contributed an introduction. In it he asks " Can there be anything more pathetic than the condition of the people of India, one-fifth of the population of the world." We answer without hesitation,—Yes, it is another quarter of the world's population, the helpless people of China, led by corrupt leaders. And before he and his friends speak of China being mindful of the problems of India, they had better cleanse their Augean stables of China, first.

M.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

J. C. Carter, Esq., delivered an illustrated lecture on THE T'AI P'INGS IN KIANGSU before the Society on October the 26th.

Mr. Carter sketched the Taiping rebellion from its conception in the fertile mind of Tien Wang, the scholar disappointed of his arts degree, down to the conclusion of the movement and the great part played by the province of Kiangsu. It is true that Mr. Carter said little that is new on the subject, but a clear connected story such as he presented of a most interesting period in the history of China in general and Kiangsu in particular served as an excellent method of recounting for the benefit of a younger generation the stirring times of 60 years ago.

Unfortunately there was no time for general discussion. But Dr. G. Ros sends me the following interesting note :

With reference to the subject so ably dealt with by Mr. Carter I have an interesting souvenir of the short rule of the T'ai-P'ings in Shanghai.

It is a census blank issued by the notorious generalissimo Liu, and supplied to the native population with orders to fill it with particulars concerning each household, and then to have it posted on the door.

Here are a few remarks on this document :

The character 國 in 太平天國 is written in its ordinary style, and not 囯, as it had been made a rule by the T'ai-P'ings—*vide* for instance the inscription on the coins issued by these insurgents. The date, however, (1853) is given as 癸好, the regular horary character 丑 having been tabooed by the T'ai-P'ings because, I am told, it is homophonous with 醜, a very nasty character, indeed.

The above is not the only one horary character which the T'ai-P'ings decided to discard. The 亥 of the first year of T'ai-P'ing T'ien-kuo (1851) was changed into 開 perhaps to convey an idea of "founding" a new State; and, by the way, it is a noteworthy coincidence that the next year 辛亥 (1911) saw the downfall of the Manchu dynasty, and the founding of the Republic (開國).

The last character to suffer at the hands of the T'ai-P'ings was 卯 which, being guilty of connexion with bad luck and mourning, had to give way to the character 榮, "brilliant," "prosperous," the year 1855 being thus designated 乙榮 instead of 乙卯.

I remember General Liu telling me in Sianfu, years ago, that he was a Sub-Lieutenant under General Gordon. Three things greatly impressed him in the character of General Gordon. These were (1) The strict

observance of Sunday. It was to him a day of absolute cessation from daily toil. (2) He never carried any arms, only a cane. This was his habit even during fighting. (3) He was never in a hurry : always cool. Even in desperate straits his two great words to the soldiers were, 不忙.

Rev. B. L. Angel has presented a T'ai-p'ing seal to the Museum. It was found under the foundations of a house in Soochow, reported as previously occupied by T'ai P'ing rebel leaders. The inscription reads (殺人取財) SHA JEN CH'U TSAI (Kill the men and seize their property.) By the help of Dr. Stanley the impression is given from the original Seal.



The Hon. Librarian tells me that the *Adversaria Sinica* (Series II, No. 1) should have been reviewed in last year's Journal.

This is a destructive number. It is full of contentious matter. The first section is occupied with Dr. Martin : Chia I : The Owl : Poe's Raven and Dr. Giles's own translation made with "the object of showing how far there is any real analogy between Chia I's Owl and Poe's Raven." There doesn't seem to be very much.

Dr. Giles returns to the controversy between himself and Mr. Laufer over the Rhinoceros. For the most part it is Dr. Lionel Giles that speaks. He has much to say on the matter and some points have been touched on already in this Journal. The Doctor's remarks are full and his discussion is scholarly, and courteous. But we do not think that the question has been settled yet. Dr. Laufer will have much to say in reply to these things.

Dr. Giles, senior, continues the attack by saying that Mr. Laufer is not qualified to translate Chinese. In justification of this charge he proceeds to quote 'another mistake' by Mr. Laufer. The sentence in question runs thus 當其溺時人趁不復移足 in Chinese. Mr. Laufer translates "*When the animal is immersed in the water, men avail themselves of this opportunity to capture it, as it is impossible for it to pull its feet out of the mud.*"

Dr. Giles says this is ridiculous. We don't think so. It is true that Dr. Laufer uses a little imagination. But that is quite legitimate. In fact many translations would be less wooden if a little imagination had been given play.

Dr. Giles translates the passages in this way. "*When it is urinating men take advantage of its inability to move its feet.* He says, "it is almost an insult to tell a student of Chinese of any standing that it means, etc.:" Is it really so? We must confess to some hesitation as to the meaning. So two Chinese scholars, at different times, were invited to give an opinion. One of them was a great scholar, and after looking it up and down he confessed that it had no meaning for him. The other, only an ordinary scholar, also failed to get any sense out of it; though his ideas ran in the direction of Dr. Laufer's translation. The only point against Dr. Laufer's rendering being the value of 溺. It seems to imply that if the animal is stuck in the mud, it is also *dead*. But really Dr. Giles is too positive in his views.

Mr. Edgar tells me that in Thibet, amongst non-Chinese people, there is the knowledge of an animal which they call the Hsi. Its habitat is the quiet pools of deep glens. It comes out at night to eat grass. The people are afraid to go near these pools. These people emigrated very early from the South where the rhinoceros was known and called Hsi. It is somewhat remarkable they should have given the name Hsi to this strange animal in these pools.

Would it not be possible for Drs. Laufer and Giles to make a tour of inspection to these remote parts? It might be possible to gain some information about the *Pi* and the *Hsi* which would help to settle this knotty question of "bovine or not bovine." On the way they could see in Shanghai an ancient bronze image of a *Pi*. It offers some opinion on the question of horns. And it also has another distinctive feature, not mentioned by any of the controversialists. A wave of saliva hangs from its jaw. The Chinese highly esteem the medicinal properties of the saliva of the rhinoceros.

Dr. Laufer has quite missed the point in the phrase 有鴆處必有犀 which he translates "There is also the Chên Ch'u which is presumably a rhinoceros." Dr. Giles renders "In poisonous places, the Hsi is found." This is the idea. But is it not possible to be still nearer the mark? *Ch'en* is a poisonous bird, so may we not translate "*Where the poisonous bird hovers there the Hsi will be found.*"

And now hear the view of an old writer, a Catholic father, on this contentious beast:

"There is likewise to be seen your rhinoceros's, one of the oddest animals in the world, in my opinion, it hath some resemblance with a wild boar, only it is a little bigger, the feet of it somewhat thicker, and the body more clouterly shaped; its hide is covered all over with thick large scales, of a blackish colour, of an extraordinary hardness; they are divided into little squares, or buttons, rising about a quarter of an inch above the skin, in a manner like those of the Crocodile; its legs seem to be engaged in a kind of boot, and its head wrapped about behind with a flat capuche, or monk's hood; which made the Portuguese to call him the Indian monk: its head thick and gross; its mouth not wide; its muzzle thrust out, and armed with a long thick horn, that makes him terrible to the very tygres, bufulo's and elephants.

But that which seems the most admirable in this animal, is its tongue, which Nature hath covered with such a rough membrane, that it differs but little from a file, so that it flees off the skin of all that it licks. In a word, as we see some animals here that make a good ragoust of thistles, whose little pricks tickle the fibres, or the extremities of the nerves of the tongue: so likewise your rhinoceros, takes delight in eating branches of trees, armed on all sides with stiff thorns. I have often given it some of them, whose prickles were very hard and long, and I admired how cunningly and greedily it bended them immediately, and champ'd them in its mouth without doing itself any harm. "Tis true indeed, they some times drew blood of him; but that very thing made them more pleasant to the taste; and these slight wounds, made probably no other impression upon its tongue, than salt and pepper does upon ours."

We come to "ANOTHER MISTRANSLATOR"—A paper entitled "Ink Remains," by John C. Ferguson, Ph. D., which is reviewed in *Adversaria Sinica*. Dr. Ferguson has sent me the following reply to the strictures passed on his translations by Dr. Giles.

It is not disconcerting to one's sense of dignity to be classed by Dr. Giles with Dr. W. A. P. Martin and Dr. Berthold Laufer as "another mistranslation" in *Adversaria Sinica*, Series II, No. 1. Dr. Giles has been engaged for so many years in the translation of an immense number of

Chinese phrases and occasionally of Chinese paragraphs, that he might have been expected to look generously upon the faults of others, when so many of his own (some of which, it is only fair to say, were copied from Williams) have been pointed out to him, from various sources, and others remain still in the note-books of students. The fellow feeling of fallibility might have been expected to produce in an experienced translator some hesitation in calling attention to the faults of others, as long as he could spend his time profitably in revising this own work and correcting his mistakes. Really it does not seem worth while to print "On the lone hills no one is to be seen" as a correction of my "In the lone hills men are not seen"; or to substitute the rendering "In the poem is transmitted the purport of the picture" for my earlier translation "the idea of a picture is preserved in a poem."

All of Dr. Giles's corrections of my translation from Wang Wei's poem "Wang Ch'uan" in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, April 1914, are of such trifling importance as these two which are cited. But Dr. Giles is pathetic when he comes to substitute such nonsense as :

"But there is no one in the depths of this wood who
understands (my lay.)

Until the bright moon comes to shed her light (she does)" for my feeble attempt to catch some of the beautiful spirit of the original poem.

"Hid by the trees where no man knows
I am greeted with light from the moon."

It is evident that Dr. Giles imagines (he does) that he can convey an impression of the latent charm of a poem by such a rendering as "comes to shed her light (she does)" but he will not find many to agree with him. In this instance his translation is not even verbally correct. Discarding a versified rendering, the proper translation of these two lines is :

"In the thick trees no one knows where I am
The bright moon comes to shed light on me."¹

There is no suggestion in the phrase *jen-pu-chi* (人不知) about not understanding the lay of the poet; the reference is wholly to his being in a place where no one knew of it. My versified rendering (of which I am not at all proud) of this beautiful stanza, was made with the painting of Kuo Chung-shu before me in which is seen a four-walled structure with doors at the front and back, but with no roof and all hid away in the midst of bamboo trees. It was a place for quiet retreat and enjoyable contemplation; not at all a place for nursing grievances against mankind. *Jen-pu-chi* (人不知) when used by Confucius in the *Analects* is translated by Legge "though men may take no note of him"

¹ 深林人不知 明月來相照.

or "men do not know him" but the meaning in this stanza of Wang Ch'uan is plainly "men do not know where I am." Chinese poets are as free in their unconventional use of language as their western confrères and their language rarely means in ordinary Chinese what it appears to do. This is the pitfall which lays in wait for the unimaginative lexicographer who trains himself in verbal accuracy to the neglect of the real meaning.

Dr. Giles is wide of the mark also in his criticism of my paper "Iuk Remains" N. C. B. Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. XLV, where I made a translation of the introduction of Mo Yuan Hui Kuan¹ and then attempted to give "the governing idea of the name of each painting." As to the correctness of the translation of the introduction, Dr. Giles (or as he styles himself "an ordinary student") will be able to satisfy himself by procuring a copy of the well known work of An I-chou¹. As to the "governing idea" of the names of pictures, I am still in doubt in many instances as to whether or not I have caught it for it is often most illusive. Certain I am that I have not been assisted in the matter by Dr. Giles. The only pictures of which I can be sure that I have caught the governing idea are those of which I have seen the original or copies. "Watching the Goose"² is one of such pictures and whereas I would like to accommodate Dr. Giles by making goose, simpler, into geese, plural, so as to be as inclusive as possible, my memory of the picture will not allow me to do so.

I would refer Dr. Giles to the fifth ceremony in marriage contracts Tien wo 奠鵝 which undoubtedly is correctly translated as pouring libation before the wild goose, the symbol of faithfulness in connubial affection, and not before *wild geese*.

As to the "governing idea" of Kuan T'ung's painting "Wintry Hills"³, and of Fan K'uan's "The First Snow"⁴, I have taken it directly from the paintings and in both instances my re-awakened interest in the subject confirms my earlier interpretation. In translating the name of Fan K'uan's picture, Dr. Giles has himself made a serious blunder by translating I Chiang (江) as "the Yangtse" whereas it means simply river, and not infrequently refers, to the Ch'ien T'ang Hsiang or Hsiao. In his passion for literalness Dr. Giles makes other slips. K'uang Lu (匡廬) is translated in his criticism as well as in his dictionary (No. 6400) as Mt. K'uang Lu without any indication that this is a redundant form of Mt. K'uang or Mt. Lu. Either K'uang Shan or Lu Shan is used as the

¹ 安儀周著墨緣彙觀.

² 觀鵝圖.

³ 關仝寒山行旅圖.

⁴ 范寬雪山行旅圖.

name for the same range of hills, situated south of Kiukiang in Kiangsi province. If Dr. Giles wishes to be precise, he should translate "Light on Mt. K'uang, otherwise called Mt. Lu," but such a name would scarcely be one of which he could boast.

Dr. Giles errs more widely in his translation of Ch'i Shan Kuan Lou¹. "Looking down the valley" is the governing idea of the picture. The view is from a beautiful two-storied palace at the head of a picturesque valley. Dr. Giles mis-translates Ch'i Shan as Mount Ch'i in two instances although at the foot of p. 43 he translates it as "stream." In all three instances he is wrong, the correct rendering being a ravine (Giles, No. 1009).

The real difficulty with Dr. Giles is that in his reading he has failed to learn that frequently, if not usually, in the four-character names of Chinese paintings, the "governing idea" is contained in two characters and the other two characters are chosen for euphony so as to maintain the requisite balance of p'ing and tseh sounds. I might have followed Giles's method of using a gloss to make clear his translation as stated by him on Page XIII of his dictionary. He describes his method as follows:—"the sentences are translated literally or word for word, and the sense is made clear by a gloss. Sometimes in view of simplicity III the English analogue is given without further remark." In attempting to make clear to students of Chinese paintings the "governing idea" of a particular piece I have not translated word for word thus compelling myself to trust to a gloss to make sense of the verbal translation, but have done what Giles professes himself to have done "in view of simplicity" and have given an "English analogue without further remark."

Macaulay in writing of Oliver Goldsmith said that he translated "into his own clear, pure and flowing language what he found in book well known to the world, but too bulky or too dry for boys and girls." In my translation of the names of Chinese paintings I have tried to convey their "governing idea" in such a way that anyone seeing the pictures would recognize their dominant characteristics from the English names which I have used. My attempt has been to interpret ideas and not to give verbal translations "too bulky or too dry" to be read.

As to the paintings attributed by me to Mi Fei, I am thankful to have my mistake pointed out. These paintings are those of Mi Yun-jen, son of Mi Fei, and the title should be "Clouds on the Hills" or "Mist on the Hills," not "A Snow Scene." The whole phrase means "A

¹ 溪山觀樓.

painting, 'Mist on the Hills' by Mi Yu-jen done in the home of my sister living in the Ta Yao village¹." In justice to myself I would say that this mistake had been discovered by me after the publication of the Journal and long before Dr. Giles had called attention to it. Like any other serious worker, I am grateful to one who points out any mistakes which I have made, while at the same time I dissent from the methods and manners of a supercilious censor.

One other point on translation. It is in the meaning of 界畫. Dr. Ferguson is quite right in his interpretation of the phrase in saying that the name does not refer to landscape, but to buildings in a landscape. The idea is that the work in *Chieh hua* is done by marking out exact proportions by means of lines. This is only necessary of course where buildings are the chief feature of a picture.

Mr. G. Lanning's paper deals with a subject of great importance in a delightful way. It is a subject that has been neglected. The paper will arouse controversy. This may be useful. The Editor will be glad to have the opinions and criticism of members.

Mr. Lanning has not adopted the canon generally followed in deciphering manuscripts and palimpsests which is to shun the obvious and apparent for the more difficult. His findings seem almost too easy to be true. But he approaches it in the only possible way—that of sound. The only question is whether the modern pronunciation is a sufficient guide.

Investigation must be carried on historically as well as phonetically. It is startling to be told that *tyrant* and 大人 are akin. But before this can be accepted it is necessary to know more about the origin and history of *tyrranos*: and when it was *ta-jen* was adopted into Chinese. Is *ta-jen* of which Mencius was fond, not an invention of the scholar?

Much that is plausible must be abandoned. It would be easy for instance to find some identity between 比丘 (*bhikhshu*) a *mendicant* and the word *beseech*. Again the word typhoon bears a likeness to Ta-feng. But it is clear that the English word is not a transliteration of the Chinese. So the question is whether the Greek original had anything in common with the Chinese.

Mr. T. Raaschou gave an exhibition of *Antique Chinese Rugs* at the Society's Rooms and supplied these notes in explanation.

The Orient is the birth-place and home of artistic rug weaving. The mountainous districts with their slopes and valleys running right through Asia Minor, Caucasus, Kurdistan, Persia, and continuing eastward through

¹ 米友仁大姚村妹家所作雲山圖卷.

Northern India and Thibet and northwards through Chinese Turkestan, Mongolia, and North China afford luxurious pastures for numberless flocks, of sheep and other domestic animals with coats of wool and hair often of the finest kind. From the earliest days rug weaving has been the principal occupation of the women in the village huts and in the nomad's tent. The products of their patient labour, bear the stamp of primitive people's poetic imagination, religious and superstitious faith, and imitative appreciation of the surrounding nature's beauty in colour and form.

The patterns are truly Chinese. Cloud bands, conventional dragons, Chou figures, sacred jewels, sacred mountains, incense burners, etc., are found on some types; others show designs complimentary to arts and learning containing books, scrolls, brush-holders, and ink-pads, chessboards and lutes; and others again show an abundance of splendid designs of flower schemes including the lotus, peony, aster, sunflower, and prunus.

We here have the development of Chinese art motives all over again as they are known from bronzes, pictures, porcelain and embroideries, entirely different from Persian and other near Orient styles and although the later, types show unmistakeable signs of influence of Persian and Indian motives the Chinese character never denies itself.

The Chinese use few colours; the Persians a profuse number. Blue, yellow, and secondary reds predominate in the Chinese. They have none of the Persians' flaming reds, grass and deep green, purple and black. Green colours are never found in old Chinese weavings. Only in the Turkestan combinations of Persian and Chinese style do they appear.

There are handsome old specimens of Chinese rugs in two and three colours only with a plain border in brown. There are others, very rare with interwoven gold and silver threads.

The style is always simple and dignified. Few borders and well balanced proportions between field and borders and individual parts of the decoration.

One of two knots is used in all Oriental rugs, the Giordes or the Senna knot. The Chinese products are all made with the latter one. But they differ entirely from the Persian rugs in the method of weaving, for while the Persian are woven very closely and the nap cut short, the Chinese are just the opposite, loosely woven and with long overlapping nap. A good antique Persian rug contains from two hundred even up to six hundred knots per square inch, the Chinese from fifty to eighty only. In the Chinese rugs the woof, consisting of thick, loosely handtwisted cotton, is carried through the warp from right to left and back after each row of knots has been made; then another row of knots are tied and the woof yarn again brought from and back. This leaves room for only 4-6 rows of nap

to the inch. Each row has a dozen, more or less, of knots to the inch. A square inch of rug thus contains a dozen knots horizontally and 4-6 rows of knots vertically.

A striking element in the appearance is the effect of fading. Whether it has been intended or not, fading gives the rugs an extraordinary beauty and a delicate blending of tints, which make them suit almost any room. This refers especially to the red colours of the fruit variety such as orange, persimmon, apricot, and peach. Often a deep brownish golden tint is the result of the slow fading of a red saturated with yellow. In others the red has toned down to a delicate pink or pinkish ivory. In others again the red has changed to a number of minutely varying shades of brownish red. On the other hand the blues are always fresh as new.

To determine the age of these old fabrics is a matter of some difficulty. Chinese literature does not refer to them. Persons now alive seem not to know anything about them and have never valued them to any extent.

To judge of its origin one must resort to an examination of the rug itself; colours, patterns, material, methods as well as general appearance and fading must guide one's judgment. But most of these means are uncertain. The colours and pattern of a Ming rug may have been copied under Yung Cheng; one rug may have been roughly used and exposed and looks more aged than a much older one which has preserved its colour and wool by careful treatment. More certain is an examination of material and methods, the back of the rug often telling a truer tale than the front. But while leaving it to experts to determine whether a Ming, a Kanghi, a Yung Cheng, or a Kienlung weaver has the honour, it is sufficient for amateurs to know that rugs made before the decadence period during the latter half of the 19th century set in, possess a spring and lustre in the wool and colours of a rich softness which anybody can distinguish from the modern life-and lustreless factory products. It is important that collectors should be on their guard against imitations for one may be certain that now, when the value of these old rugs has been established, the curio dealer will set about producing as many "Kienlung" and "Ming" rugs as an ignorant but trusting public will show capacity for absorbing.

Miss H. C. Bowser is engaged on a bit of very useful work. She is making an alphabetical list of authors and works in M. Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*. This should be a great help to students in consulting that Monumental Work.

**Pinhey Memorial
Medal.**

The Hyderabad Archæological Society, on the 21st April, 1916, decided that a Gold Medal be instituted to commemorate the memory of Sir Alexander Pinhey, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the Founder and first President of the Society.

(1) The 'Pinhey Memorial Gold Medal' shall be
Regulations. awarded triennially for the best work on Deccan
Archæology or History, in accordance with the sub-
joined conditions.

(2) The competition shall be open to scholars in any part of the world.

(3) Competitors shall submit a thesis on any subject chosen by
themselves relating to Deccan Archæology or History. The thesis should
be an unpublished work or, if published, it should not have been published
more than two years before its submission for the Pinhey Medal.

(4) Theses for the first competition will be received up to the end of
October 1918, and subsequently in the October of every third year, *i.e.*, in
October 1921, 1924, and so on.

(5) If the selected thesis is an unpublished work, the Society, at the
recommendation of the Council, shall have the right to publish it in the
Society's *Journal*.

(6) If in the opinion of the Council none of the theses submitted in
any year are of special value, the Medal shall not be awarded in that year.

(7) If thesis is written in any language other than English, the
competitor shall furnish an English translation thereof.

It has not been possible to consult Dr. Ferguson on a typographical
ambiguity in his statement of the location where the bronzes were dis-
covered. These bronzes it is stated were dug up near San Yuan, about
25 miles West of the capital. As a matter of fact San Yuan is 30 miles
North of the capital. So if the tomb was 5 li N.W. of San Yuan it
must be far from the west of the Capital. Another matter that should
be investigated is the trustworthiness of the witnesses.

As we go to Press we are in receipt, from Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin
and Company, 4 Park St., Boston, Mass, U. S. A., of a most excellent short
history entitled "The Development of China" by Kenneth Scott Latourette,
formerly of the Yale Mission (price \$1.75 gold), which is surely destined
to render invaluable aid to all students, but more especially to those—for
whose benefit indeed it is avowedly written—whose interest in the Far
East is but newly awakened. A review will appear in our next issue.

Another valuable reference book, illustrated and furnished with most
excellent maps, has reached us; "Outlines of Chinese History" by Li Ung
Bing, a Chinese scholar, edited by Prof. Joseph Whiteside of Soochow
University, and published by the Commercial Press, Limited, Shanghai. The
review of this interesting work, which presents Chinese history from the
most enlightened Chinese point of view, is to our regret unavoidably delayed
but will also appear in the *Journal* of next year.

We have also received two Booklets from Prof. Austin Craig of Manila ; "Malays" and "Particulars of the Phillipines' Pre-Spanish Past." These proved of such interest that, in lieu of a review, a Paper has been prepared thereon and will be given before the Society by Judge Lobingier during the Session of 1917—18.

The second fascicule of the wonderful "Notes Ptéridologiques" by Prince Bonaparte, Membre de l'Institut, de, has also reached the Library. This careful scientific brochure should be of great interest to all lovers of Botany. Each specimen is thus described :

1. The name of the species with the name of the discoverer.
2. Place where found.
3. Date of discovery.
4. Name of the collector and number of specimen.
5. Analyses of species or new variety.
6. Remarks by the collector or the examiner.

A list of "Desiderata" is given, and Prince Bonaparte expresses himself as ready to correspond with collectors wherever they may be. His object is thus described in the closing words of his introduction. "Toutes les personnes qui voudront bien jeter un coup d'oeil, même superficiel, sur le présent travail le trouveront certainement fort aride et se demanderont comment nous avons pu l'entreprandre. Mais tous les travailleurs qui comme nous ne sont mus que par le seul sentiment de curiosité scientifique et ont la passion de la recherche de la vérité objective dans le monde vivant sans être soucieux d'applications nous comprendront facilement.

Le désir de connaître le monde où nous vivons est un sentiment qui fait partie intégrante de la nature de l'homme au même titre que beaucoup d'autres passions."

We have to thank Mr. F. S. Unwin for the gift of a copy, which the Library lacked, of that most fascinating book of travels : "A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an account by the Chinese Monk Fa-hien of his travels in India and Ceylon A. D. 399—414, in search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline. Translated and annotated with a Korean Recension of the Chinese Text by James Legge, M.A., L.L.D." Every page (illuminated as is the text by copious notes), is replete with interest ; in imagination we may follow the Buddhist devotee from, "Ch'ang-gan to the Sandy Desert" through Central Asia, across Northern India, southwards to Java, and may then embark with him on the vessel which was eventually to set him down at the foot of the Lao mountains in Shantung. As we close the volume we can but agree with the unknown writer of "l'Envoi" which he ends with the following words : "This man is one of those who have seldom been seen from ancient times to the present. Since the Great Doctrine

flowed on to the East there has been no one to be compared with Hien in his forgetfulness of self and search for the Law. Henceforth, I know that the influence of sincerity finds no obstacle, however great, which it does not overcome, and that force of will does not fail to accomplish whatever service it undertakes. Does not the accomplishing of such service arise from forgetting (and disregarding) what is (generally) considered as important, and attaching importance to what is generally forgotten?"

Attention is called to the remarks of the Librarian in regard to the issue of books to non-resident members of the Society. It is earnestly hoped that it may not be found necessary to make any alteration in the existing rules.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

JULY 1916—JUNE 1917.

(P.)—*Indicates Books presented.*

		Authors, etc.
009-N 1	Chinese Maritime Customs. Decennial Reports. Third Issue, 1902-11	(P)
009-Sp 13	Opium: Historical Note on the Poppy in China	
052-F 44	The Sixteenth Financial and Economic Annual of Japan, 1916	(P)
059-Ad 1	The Republican Advocate. Vol. I, Nos. 13-26	
059-Ch 10.1	Peking Gazette (in Chinese). 1877 May 4-8, 25-28, October 8	(P)
061-Se 1	Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences. Vol. XIV First Memoir	(P)
100-H 34	The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming	<i>Henke, F. G.</i> (P)
133.4-D 65	Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine. Tome XI	<i>Doré, H.</i> (P)
180-C 11	Chinese Philosophy	<i>Carus, P.</i>
181-F 68	Yang Chu's Garden of Pleasure	<i>Forke, A.</i>
181.1-B 11	The Pith of the Classics	<i>Ball, J. D.</i>
181.1-C 84	The Classics of Confucius, Book of Odes (Shi-king)	<i>Cranmer-Byng, L.</i>
181.1-D 65	Confucianism and Taoism	<i>Douglas, R. K.</i>
181.1-G 38	The Sayings of Confucius	<i>Giles, L.</i>
181.1-L 52	The English and Chinese Shoo King	<i>Legge, J.</i>
181.1-OL 1	The Classics of Confucius—Book of History (Shu-king)	<i>Old, W. G.</i>
209-C 51	The Historical Development of Religion in China	<i>Clennell, W. J.</i> (P)
221-M 58	Fragment of a Septuagint Greek Text of Genesis and Part of Exodus	<i>Mill, D.</i> (P)
290.1-G 89.11	The Religion of the Chinese	<i>Groot, J. J. M. de</i>
290.1-R 53	The Original Religion of China	<i>Ross, J.</i>
290.1-Su 2	Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes	<i>Sarkar, B. K.</i> (P)
294-Sa 3	South-Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses	<i>Sastri, H. K.</i> (P)
294.1-B 11	The Way of the Buddha	<i>Baynes, H.</i>
294.1-B 35	A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese	<i>Beal, S.</i>
294.1-B 35.1	Texts from the Buddhist Canon	„

294.1-B 35.11	Buddhism in China	<i>Beal, S.</i>
294.1-C 77	Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism	<i>Coomaraswamy, A. (P)</i>
294.1-L 46	A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms	<i>Legge, J. (P)</i>
294.1-W 12	The Buddha's "Way of Virtue"	<i>Wagiswara, W. D. C. and Saunders, K. J.</i>
311-A 1	Mohammedan Theories of Finance	<i>Aghnides, N. P. (P)</i>
337-C 34	The Tariff Problem in China	<i>Chu, C. (P)</i>
349.51-AL 1.1	Notes on Chinese Law and Practice Preceding Revision	<i>Alabaster, E.</i>
378.51-D 34	The Educational Directory of China, 1916.	<i>(P)</i>
381.54-Sm 1	Charities in Soochow	<i>Smith, W. M. (P)</i>
390-N 41	The Upheaval in Far Cathay	<i>Ng Hing Shang</i>
391.51-P 11	Chinese Customs	<i>Parker, E. H.</i>
391.51-P 12	Flowers of Central China worn, known and used by the Chinese Ladies	<i>Park, W. H. (P)</i>
400-An 1	The Treasury of Languages	<i>(P)</i>
419-M 61	Dictionnaire des formes cursives des Caractères Chinois	<i>Millot, S. (P)</i>
492.2-B 81	Chaldee and Syriae Grammar (Latin)	<i>Buxtorf, J. (P)</i>
492.4-An 1	Hebrew Dictionary and Grammar	<i>Andrew, J. (P)</i>
492.4-B 35	Hieronymian Hebrew	<i>Beeston, W. (P)</i>
492.4-B 85	A Compendium of Hebrew Grammar	<i>Burgh, W. (P)</i>
492.4-P 57	An Hebrew and English Lexicon	<i>Pike, S. (P)</i>
495.1-ED 1.13	Introduction to the Study of Chinese Characters	<i>Edkins, J.</i>
495.1-G 36.1	Anglo-Chinese Dictionary of Mercantile Terms	<i>Gieter, L. de</i>
495.1-W 63	Rudiments de Parler Chinois. 1er Vol. Introduction, Mécaisme, Phraséologie. 5e Vol. Narrations Vulgaires	<i>Wieger, L.</i>
495.1-W 63.112	Chinese Characters	<i>"</i>
495.11-G 59	A Character Study in Mandarin Colloquial	<i>Goodrich, C.</i>
495.11-M 12	Chinese and English Vocabulary in the Pekinese Dialect	<i>Stent, G. C. and Macgillivray, D.</i>
495.131-Y 11	First Lessons in Chinese	<i>Yates, M. T.</i>
526-UN 1	Annual Report of the Superintendent, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey to the Secretary of Commerce for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916	<i>(P)</i>
526-Un 1.1	U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. Special Publication. Nos. 35, 39, 40	<i>(P)</i>
526.99-H 34	Report on the Hydrography of the Whangpoo	<i>Heidenstam, H. von (P)</i>
526.99-H 34.1	Report on the Yangtse Estuary	<i>" (P)</i>

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| 526.99-H 34.11 | Drawings attached to same | <i>Heidenstam, H.
von</i> (P) |
| 551.5-B 63 | Meteorological Survey for 1916 | <i>Boxer, S. V.</i> (P) |
| 580-AL 1 | Victoria Regia or the Great Water Lily of America | <i>Allen, J. F.</i> |
| 580-B 63 | Notes Ptéridologiques. Fasc. II | <i>Bonaparte, Le
Prince</i> (P) |
| 580-M 46 | Jardin de Saint-Petersbourg | <i>Meyer, C. A.</i> (P) |
| 590-R 22 | Sertum Petropolitanum | <i>Regel, E.</i> (P) |
| 589.3-G 27 | Genera of Algae identified at Soochow, China | <i>Gee, N. G.</i> (P) |
| 593.4-An 1 | The Sponges of Lake Biwa | <i>Annandale, N. and
Kawamura, T.</i> (P) |
| 595.7-G 27 | List of Insects named by The Smithsonian Institution for N. Gist Gee | (P) |
| 595.7-K 53 | A Hand-book to the Order Lepidoptera, Butterflies and Moths. Vols. I-V | <i>Kirby, W. F.</i> (P) |
| 595.7-W 81 | Insects at Home | <i>Wood, J. G.</i> |
| 597-G 27 | A Preliminary List of the Fishes of China compiled from many sources | <i>Gee, N. G.</i> (P) |
| 598.2-M 72 | Common Birds of the Yangtze Delta | <i>Moffett, L. I.</i> (P) |
| 620-En 5 | The Engineering Society of China, Proceedings and Report for 1915-16 | (P) |
| 634.9-Sh 3 | The Industrial and Social Importance of Forestry in China | <i>Sherfese, F.</i> (P) |
| 709.51-P 11 | L'Art Chinois | <i>Paléologue, M.</i> |
| 709.92-J 11 | De inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië. Vol. III | <i>Jasper, J. E. en</i> (P) |
| | | <i>Pirngadie, M.</i> (P) |
| 710-C 63 | Landscape Gardening in Japan | <i>Conder, J.</i> |
| 720.51-ED 1 | Chinese Architecture | <i>Eddkins, J.</i> |
| 737-L 79 | The Stewart Lockhart Collection of Chinese Copper Coins | <i>Lockhart, J.H.S.</i> |
| 759.9-Ab 2 | Notes on Chinese Painting with Reproductions of my collection. | <i>Abraham, R. D.</i> (P) |
| 759.9-Ay 3.1 | Chinese Paintings. | <i>Ayscough, F.</i> (P) |
| 759.9-G 1 | Early Chinese Painting. | <i>Gates, W. W.</i> |
| 780.51-R 35 | Chinese Music. | <i>Richard, T.</i> |
| 895.11-B 11 | Rhythms and Rhymes in Chinese Climes. | <i>Ball, J. D.</i> |
| 895.11-C 84 | A Lute of Jade. | <i>Cranmer-Byng, L.</i> |
| 895.11-C 84.1 | A Feast of Lanterns. | <i>Cranmer-Byng, L.</i> |
| 895.11-G 37 | Chinese Poetry in English Verse. | <i>Giles, H. A.</i> |
| 895.11-P 11 | Chinese Lyrics. | <i>Pai Tai-shun</i> (P) |
| 895.13-C 11 | Chinese Fiction. | <i>Candlin, G. T.</i> |
| 895.13-G 37.1 | Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio. 3rd Edition 1916 | <i>Giles, H. A.</i> (P) |

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| 895.18-G 37 | The San Tzŭ Ching or Three Character Classic and Ch'ien Tzŭ Wen or Thousand Character Essay | <i>Giles, H. A.</i> |
| 895.18-G 37.1 | San Tzŭ Ching translated and annotated | <i>Giles, H. A.</i> |
| 895.18-SM 1 | Proverbs and Common Sayings from the Chinese | <i>Smith, A. H.</i> |
| 910-D 66 | Russia's Railway Advance into Central Asia | <i>Dobson, G.</i> (P) |
| 910 2-G 72 | Guide to Japan (in Chinese) | (P) |
| 913-R 15 | List of Ancient Monuments in Burma | (P) |
| 913.51-Sa 1 | The Nestorian Monument in China. | <i>Sacki, P. Y.</i> |
| 913.54-In 1 | Archaeological Survey of India. Part I Annual Report of Director-General 1913-1915 | (P) |
| 913.54-In 1.1 | Part II Annual Report of Work in progress | (P) |
| 913.54-In 2 | Indian Archaeological Policy, 1915 | (P) |
| 915.1-B 11 | Les Chinois chez eux | <i>Bard, E.</i> |
| 915.1-G 37.11 | A Glossary of Reference on Subjects connected with the Far East | <i>Giles, H. A.</i> |
| 915.1-W 37 | Chine Ancienne et Nouvelle | <i>Weulersse, G.</i> |
| 915.1-W 67.1 | Middle Kingdom. Revised Edition | <i>Williams, S. W.</i> |
| 915.11-F 13.1 | Peking histoire et description | <i>Favieř, A.</i> |
| 915.12-G 14 | The Gateway to China | <i>Gamewell, M. N.</i> (P) |
| 915.13-T 55 | The Early History of Chêngtu | <i>Torrance, T.</i> (P) |
| 915.4-P 69 | Southern India, its History, People, Commerce and Industrial Resources | <i>Playne, S.</i> Compiler (P) |
| 922.3-D 46 | James Legge, Missionary and Scholar | <i>Legge, H. E.</i> |
| 922.3-R 35 | Forty-five Years in China | <i>Richard, T.</i> |
| 923.2-L 62 | Li Hung-chang | <i>Douglas, R. K.</i> |
| 923.5-G 65 | The Story of Chinese Gordon | <i>Hake, A. E.</i> |
| 923.5-P 11 | Sir Harry Parkes in China | <i>Lane-Poole, S.</i> |
| 935-H 52 | The Origins of the Islamic State | <i>Hitti, P. K.</i> (P) |
| 951-Ay 3 | Synopsis of Chinese History and "Friendly Books on Far Cathay" | <i>Ayscough, F.</i> (P) |
| 951-B 71 | History of China | <i>Boulger, D. C.</i> |
| 951-G 37 | Historic China and other sketches | <i>Giles, H. A.</i> |
| 951-H 52.1 | China and the Roman Orient | <i>Hirth, F.</i> |
| 951-L 11 | The Development of China | <i>Latourette, K. S.</i> (P) |
| 951-L 62 | Outlines of Chinese History | <i>Li Ung Bing</i> (P) |
| 951-M 26 | A History of China | <i>Macgowan, J.</i> |
| 951-M 36 | Hanlin Papers | <i>Martin, W. A. P.</i> |
| 951-W 63 | Rudiments. Texts Historiques | <i>Wieger, L.</i> |
| 951.9-An 8 | Les Boxeurs | <i>D'Anthouard</i> |

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| 951.9-B 11 | China an Interpretation | <i>Bashford, J. W.</i>
(P) |
| 951.9-B 45 | The China Year Book. 1913, 1914 and 1916 | <i>Bell, H. T. M. &
Woodhead,
H. G. W.</i> |
| 951.9-B 64 | Mandarin and Missionary in Cathay | <i>Borst - Smith,</i>
<i>E. T.</i> (P) |
| 951.9-D 12 | Is Japan a Menace to Asia? | <i>Das, T.</i> (P) |
| 951.9-D 55 | "Appearances" being notes of Travel | <i>Dickinson, G. L.</i> |
| 951.9-H 11 | Events in the Taeping Rebellion | <i>Hake, A. E.</i> |
| 951.9-H 23 | Present-day China | <i>Harding, G. L.</i> |
| 951.9-H 78 | Contemporary Politics in the Far East | <i>Hornbeck S.</i> |
| 951.9-J 58 | The Fall of Tsingtau | <i>Jones, J.</i> |
| 951.9-L 62 | The So-called People's Will | <i>Liang, Chi-chao,</i>
(P) |
| 951.9-M 61 | Our Eastern Question | <i>Millard, T. F.</i> |
| 959.7-M 11.1 | Les Marchands Européens en Cochin Chine et
au Tonkin (1600-1775) | <i>Maybon, C. B.</i> (P) |
| 991.4-C 84 | Particulars of the Philippines' Pre-Spanish
Past | <i>Craig, A.</i> (P) |
| 991.4-C84.1 | The Malays | " (P) |
| | The Wilson Bulletin. Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1-4 | (P) |
| | Proceedings of the National Academy of
Sciences of the United States of America.
Vol. 1 and II, 1915-16 | (P) |
| | Reproduction of Ma Yuan's Landscap Roll | (P) |
| | 古泉匯 Ku Ch'uan Hui. 16 vols. and 續泉
匯 Hsü Ch'uan Hui. 4 vols. (Work on
Chinese Numismatics) | |
| | 吳友如畫寶 (reproductions of Chinese Pain-
tings by Wu Yu-ju) | |

NORTH-CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

LIST OF MEMBERS 1917

Members changing address are earnestly requested to inform the Secretary at once.

Name	Address	Year of Election
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Honorary Members.

Chavannes, Prof. Edouard ...	1 Rue des Ecoles, Fontenay aux Roses, Seine, France	1889
Cordier, Prof. Henri ...	Ecole speciale des Langues orien- tales vivantes, Paris	1886
De Groot, Dr. J. J. M. ...	Leyden, Holland ...	1887
Forke, Dr. A. ...	Windscheid Strasse 25, Charlot- tenburg	1894
Giles, Prof. Herbert Allen ...	Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge ...	1880
Hirth, Prof. F. ...	Columbia University, New York City	1877
Hosie, Sir Alexander, K.C.M.G.	Foreign Office, London ...	1877
Lauman, Prof. Charles B. ...	Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts	1908
Lockhart, Sir J. H. Stewart, K.C.M.G.	Wei haiwei ...	1885
Morse, H. B., LL.D. ...	Arden, Camberly, England... ..	1888
Parker, Prof. E. H. ...	14 Gambier Terrace, Liverpool ...	1877
Putnam, Herbert ...	Library of Congress, Washington...	1908
Richard, Rev. Timothy, D.Litt.	Christian Literature Society, Shanghai	1894
Sampatrao, H. H. the Prince ...	Gaekwar of Baroda, India ...	1898
Satow, Rt. Hon. Sir E., G.C.M.G.	Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary, Devon	1906
Warren, Sir Pelham, K.C.M.G.	Woodhead & Co., 44 Charing Cross, London	1904

Name	Address	Year of Election
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Corresponding Members.

Fryer, Prof. John	University of California, Berkely, California	1886
Gardner, C. T., C.M.G.	Foreign Office, London	1900
Jamieson, George, C.M.G.	110 Cannon Street, London	1868
Little, Mrs. Archibald... ..	150 St. James's Court, Buckingham-gate, London	1906
Playfair, G. M. H.	Foreign Office, London	1885
Széchenyi, Count Bela... ..	Zinkendorf, Hungary	1880
Volpicelli, Z. H.	Italian Consulate, Hongkong	1886
Williams, E. T.	Washington	1889
Williams, Prof. F. W.	135 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut	1895

Members.

(The asterisk denotes Life Membership)

*Abraham, R. D.	4G Peking Road, Shanghai... ..	1914
Acheson, Guy	Customs, Santuao, Fukien	1908
Adolph, W. H., Ph. D.	Shantung Christian University, Tsinan Fu	1917
Ainscough, T. M.	Lindley Mount, Parbold, nr. Wigan	1909
Ancell, Rev. B. L.	Am. Church Mission, Yangchow	1911
Anderson, P. B.... ..	4 Quinsan Gardens, Shanghai	1915
Archer, Allan	British Legation, Peking	1915
Arnold, Julean H.	American Legation, Peking	1904
Ayscough, Mrs. F.	20 Gordon Road, Shanghai... ..	1906
Bahnson, J. J.	G. N. Telegraph Co, Shanghai	1909
Bahr, P. J.	165A N. Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1909
Bahr, A. W.	11 Upper Hamilton Terrace, London, N.W.	1909
*Ball, J. Dyer	23 Lancaster Avenue, Hadley Wood, Middlesex	1883
Barrow, E. P. Graham... ..	Cathedral School, Shanghai	1915
Barton, S., C.M.G.	British Legation, Peking	1906
Bateman, Rev T. W.	C. M. M. Chungking, Sze.	1916
Bauer, L.	Austro-Hungarian Legation, Peking	1911
*Bayne, Parker M.	Methodist Mission Rooms, Toronto, Canada	1911
Bazin, J. Hervé.	Aurora University, 55 Avenue Dubail, Shanghai	1917
*Beauvais, J.	Consul de France, Canton	1900
Beebe, Dr. R. C.	5 Quinsan Gardens, Shanghai	1889

Name	Address	Year of Election
Bendixsen, N. P. ...	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai ...	1913
*Bessell, F. L. ...	Customs, Tientsin ...	1905
Beytagh, L. M. ...	Ilbert & Co., Shanghai ...	1910
Billinghurst, Dr. W. B. ...	8B Peking Road, Shanghai ...	1908
Black, S. ...	G. N. Telegraph Co., Peking ...	1910
Blackburn, A. D. ...	H.B.M.'s Consulate-Gen., Shanghai	1917
Blake, C. H. ...	Standard Oil Co., Shanghai ...	1914
Blickle, K. ...	Slevogt & Co., Shanghai ...	1911
Bois-Reymond, Prof. Dr. C. du	41 Seymour Road, Shanghai ...	1907
Bondfield, Rev. Dr. G. H. ...	B. and F. Bible Society, Shanghai...	1900
Bosustow, J. C. ...		1905
Bourne, F. S. A., C.M.G.		1885
Bowra, C. A. V. ...	Chinese Maritime Customs, Peking	1897
Bowser, Miss H. C. ...	143 N. Szechuen Road, Shanghai ...	1914
*Box, Rev. Ernest ...	Medhurst College, Shanghai ...	1897
Bradley, H. W. ...	Chinese Maritime Customs, Hankow	1912
Brandt, Carl M. ...	Chinese Maritime Customs, Swatow	1896
Brandt, Mrs. ...	19 Medhurst Road, Shanghai ...	1913
Brazier, Henry W. ...	Hongkong&Shanghai Bank, London	1905
Bredon, Sir Robert E., K.C.M.G.	Peking ...	1885
Bremner, Mrs. A. S. ...	20 Yates Road, Shanghai ...	1909
Bristow, H. B. ...	H. H. Bristow, British Consulate,- Gen., Shanghai ...	1897
Bristow, H. H. ...	British Consulate, Hangchow ...	1909
Bristow, J. A. ...	Standard Oil Co., Kiukiang ...	1914
Brooke, J. T. W. ...	Davies & Brooke, Shanghai ...	1915
Browett, Harold ...	22 Yuenmingyuen Road, Shanghai	1891
*Brown, Sir J. McLeavy, C.M.G.	Chinese Legation, 59 Portland Place London, W. ...	1865
Brown, Rev. M. W. ...	Methodist Mission, Tientsin ...	1916
Brown, Thomas ...	La Roque, Sutton, Surrey ...	1885
Bruce, Col. C. D. ...		1900
Bruce, Rev. J. P. ...	Tsingchowfu, Shantung ...	1916
Brune, H. Prideaux ...	British Consulate-Gen., Shanghai ...	1914
Bryan, H. ...	57 Avenue Road, Shanghai ...	1916
Bryant, P. L. ...	Far Eastern Review, 5 Jinkee Road Shanghai ...	1917
*Buckens, Dr. F. ...	Lunghai Railway, Chengchow ...	1915
Burdick, Miss S. M. ...	Baptist Mission, West Gate, Shanghai	1909
Burkill, A. W. ...	2 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai ...	1912
Burkill, Mrs. A. W. ...	2 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai ...	1912
Burns, Mrs. ...	319 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai ...	1916
Byrne, P. L. ...	American Trading Co., Shanghai ...	1913
Carl, Francis A. ...	C. M. Customs, Canton ...	1906
Carter, Lieut. A. F. ...	Astor House, Shanghai ...	1914
Carter, J. C. ...	Mactavish & Lehmann, Shanghai...	1912
Cassat, Rev. Paul C. ...	Tsingtau ...	1916
Chatley, Herbert ...	450G Avenue Joffre, Shanghai ...	1916
Chatley, Herbert, D.Sc. ...	Nanking-Hunan Railway, Nanking	1916
Ch'ên Kuo-ch'uan ...	Chinese - Anglo - American Friend- ship Association, Shanghai ...	1913
Christiansen, J. P. ...	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai ...	1913

Name	Address	Year of Election
Claiborne, Miss Elizabeth ...	4 Thibet Road, Shanghai ...	1908
Clark, J. D. ...	Shanghai Mercury, Shanghai ...	1895
*Clementi, C. ...	Govt. Secretary's Office, George Town, British Guiana ...	1905
Coales, O. R. ...	British Consulate-Gen., Shanghai ...	1906
Cole, Rev. W. B. ...	M. E. M. Hinghwa ...	1917
Cook, H. M. ...		1915
Couling, S. ...		1894
Couling, Mrs. S. ...	38 Quinsan Gardens, Shanghai ...	1916
Coursier, Mme. ...	54 Route Doumer, Shanghai ...	1915
*Cousland, Dr. P. B. ...		1908
Cox, Dr. S. M. ...	39 N. Soochow Road, Shanghai ...	1908
Craig, A. ...	The University, Manila ...	1914
Crow, C. ...		1913
Cunningham, Rev. R. ...	C.I.M., Tatsienlu, Szechuen ...	1913
Cushnie, G. S. B. ...	c/o Scott, Harding & Co., Shanghai	1916
*D'Anty, Pierre Bons ...	French Consulate, Chungking ...	1889
*Davidson, R. ...	c/o Mrs. Frew, 66 Leamington Terr., Edinburgh	1914
Davis, Dr. Noel ...	Municipal Offices, Shanghai ...	1910
Dent, V. ...	103 Avenue de Roi Albert, Shanghai	1912
Dodson, Miss S. L. ...	St. Mary's Hall, Jessfield ...	1909
Donald, William H. ...	Far Eastern Review, Shanghai ...	1911
Donovan, J. P. ...	Como, Hazelgrove, Haywards Heath, Sussex	1891
Dorsey, W. Roderick ...	U.S.A. Consular Service, Tripoli, Libya, N. Africa	1911
Dowie, Robert G. ...	Ellis Kadoorie School, Shanghai ...	1906
*Drake, F. E. ...	Peiyang University, Tientsin ...	1911
*Drake, Noah F. ...	Fayetteville, Arkansas ...	1904
*Drew, E. B. ...	Cambridge, Massachusetts ...	1882
Du Monceau, Comte L. ...	Banque Belge, Shanghai ...	1909
Duyvendak, J. J. L. ...	Netherlands Legation, Peking ...	1915
Edgar, Rev. J. H. ...	276 Collins St., Melbourne ...	1910
Edmondston, David C. ...	H'kong & Shanghai Bank, Tsingtao	1917
Edmunds, Dr. C. K. ...	Canton Christian College, Canton...	1916
Eliot, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G. ...	Hongkong University, Hongkong...	1913
Ely, John A. ...	St. John's University, Shanghai ...	1917
Ely, Mrs. J. A. ...	St. John's University, Shanghai ..	1917
Engel, Max M. ...	Shanghai ..	1911
*Eriksen, A. H. ...	Telegraph Dept., Ministry of Communications, Peking ...	1915
Erslev, E. ...	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Shanghai ...	1915
Essex Institute, Librarian ...	Salem, Massachusetts ...	1906
Evans, Edward, ...	Missionary Home, 38 Quinsan Road, Shanghai	1916
Evan, Joseph J. ...	Evans & Sons, 30 North Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1916
Exter, Bertus van ...	Netherlands Harbour Works, S'hai	1916

Name	Address	Year of Election
Fairchild, Mrs. F. A.	20 Love Lane, Shanghai	1917
Fearn, Mrs. J. B.	96 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai	1911
*Ferguson, Dr. John C.... ..	Peking	1896
Ferguson, J. W. H.	C. M. Customs, Harbin	1910
Ferguson, T. T. H.	C. M. Customs, Peking	1900
Fergusson, W. N., F.R.G.S.	B. & F.B.S. Chengtu	1916
Fischer, Emil, S.	Tientsin	1894
Fletcher, W. J. B.	British Consulate, Foochow	1916
Fowler, J. A. ... ..	...	1913
Fox, Harry H., C.M.G.	British Consulate-General	1907
Fraser, Sir Everard, K.C.M.G.	British Consul-General, Shanghai...	1907
Fraser, Miss Jean	6 Medhurst Road, Shanghai	1912
Freer, Charles L.	Detroit, Michigan	1910
Fryer, E. C.	Brynarw, Abergavenny, England...	1912
Fryer, George B.	4 Edinburgh Road, Shanghai	1901
Fulford, H. E., C.M.G.	British Consul-General, Tientsin ...	1885
Gage, Rev. Brownell	Changsha	1915
Gale, Esson M.	Chinese Salt Rev. Administration, Hankow	1911
Gardner, H. G.	Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, Hankow	1906
Garner, Dr. Emily	Margaret Williamson Hospital, West Gate, Shanghai	1911
*Garritt, Rev. J. C.	Nanking	1907
Ghisi, E.	Via Quintino, Salla No. 4, Milano, Italy	1893
Gibson, H. E.	12 Weihaiwei Road, Shanghai	1915
Gilby, J. H.	Palace Hotel, Shanghai	1916
Gilliam, J.	22 Museum Road, Shanghai	1915
Gillis, Captain I. V.	American Legation, Peking	1911
Gimbel, C., M.Sc.	Foreign District Inspector of Hwai- pei, Hsipa, via Chinkiang	1914
Gipperich, H.	Tientsin	1909
Gladki, P. M.	C. E. Railway, Control Dept., New Town, Harbin	1915
Godfrey, C. H.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai	1909
Göhring, A.	Arnhold, Karberg & Co., Hankow ..	1913
Goodnow, Dr. Frank J... ..	President, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, U.S.A.	1914
Goucher, Rev. J. F., D.D., LL.D.	Baltimore	1915
Grant, J. B.	11 Wayside Rd., Shanghai	1916
Greaves, J. R.	Butterfield and Swire, Shanghai ...	1913
*Godtmann, Johans	10 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1898
Grosse, V.	Russian Consul-General, Shanghai	1912
Grove, F.	Nanking-Hunan Railway, Nanking	1915
Gull, E. Manico	North China Herald, Shanghai	1915
*Gunsberg, Baron G. de	32 Avenue Kleber, Paris	1908
Gwynne, T. H.	Directorate General of Posts, Peking	1913
*Hackmann, H. ... ..	...	1903
*Hall, J. C.	49 Broadhurst Gardens, Hampstead, N. W.	1888

Name	Address	Year of Election
Hammond, Miss Louisa.	A.C.M. Wusih	1917
Hancock, H. T....	Standard Oil Co., Shanghai	1914
Handley-Derry, H. F. ...		1903
Harding, H. I. ...	British Legation, Peking	1904
Hardy, Dr. W. M. ...	Batang, via Tachienlu	1912
Harpur, C. ...	Municipal Offices, Shanghai	1901
Hays, Mrs. John ...	66 Route Doumer, Shanghai	1911
Healey, Leonard C. ...	Public School for Chinese, Shanghai	1913
Heeren, Dr. J. J. ...	Weih sien	1915
Heidenstam, H. von. ...	6, Kiukiang Rd. Shanghai	1916
Hemeling, Dr. K. ...	C. M. Customs, Wuhu	1902
Henke, Frederick G, Ph.D. ...	747 Baldwin St., Meadville, Penn- sylvania, U.S.A.	1912
Hers, Joseph ...	Lunghai Railway, Peking	1907
*Hildebrandt, Adolf ...	Oliva, West Preussen, Waldestrosse, 7 part	1907
Hinckley, F. E., Ph. D ..	271-23rd Street, Oakland, California	1907
Hindson, A. E. C. ...	20 Foochow Road, Shanghai	1914
*Hippisley, A. E....	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, London	1876
Hobson, H. E. ...	St. Michaels, Glastonbury, England	1868
Hodges, Mrs. F. E. ...	Ford Lane, Shanghai	1915
*Hodous, Rev. L. ...	Foochow	1913
Hoettler, A. ...	20 Foochow Road, Shanghai	1910
Hogg, E. Jenner ...	4 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1908
Houghton, Charles ...	3 Peitaiho Lane, Shanghai...	1908
Howell, E. B. ...	C. M. Customs, Peking	1909
Howells, W. ...	Central Police Station, Shanghai	1917
Hudson, Mrs. Alfred ...	Ningpo	1909
Hughes, A. J. ...	China United Assurance Society, Shanghai	1909
Hummel, R. Ure ..	Bisset & Co., Shanghai	1911
Huston, J. C. ...	American Legation, Peking	1917
Hutchison, J. L. ...	British American Tobacco Co., S'hai	1916
Hutson, Rev. J. ...	China Inland Mission, Kwanshien...	1914
Hynd, R. R. ...	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, S'hai	1913
Irvine, Miss Elizabeth ...	39 Arsenal Road, St. Catherine's Bridge, Shanghai	1910
Irvine, D. A. ...	Chungking	1913
Islef, J. P. ...	Great Northern Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1917
Jackson, Rev. James ...	Boone University, Wuchang	1908
Jamieson, J. W. ...	British Consul-General, Canton	1888
Jefferys, Dr. W. Hamilton ...	University Club, 1510 Walnut St., Philadelphia	1908
Jenks, Prof. J. W. ...	13 Astor Place, New York	1903
Jernigan, T. R. ...	3 Hongkong Road, Shanghai	1906
Jessel, W. ...	Giesel & Co., Shanghai	1912
Jesus, C. Montalto de ...		1902
Johnson, N. T. ...	American Consulate, Changsha	1912
Johnston, R. F....	Wei haiwei	1907
Joly, P. B. ...	C. M. Customs, Moukden	1915

Name	Address	Year of Election
Jones, Edward P.	H.M.S. Newcastle, <i>c/o</i> Naval Agent, Shanghai	1913
Jones, J. Frank	66, Szechuen Rd. Shanghai ...	1916
Jong, Th. de J. de	Netherlands Legation, Peking ...	1914
Jorgensen, O.	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai ...	1913
*Jost, A.	Sulzer, Rudolf & Co., Shanghai ...	1912
Justesen, M. L.	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai ...	1913
Kahn, Gaston	Consul-General for France, Shanghai	1913
Kano, Dr. N.	Kyoto University, Kyoto ...	1902
Kanzaki, S.	Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, Shanghai ...	1906
Karlbeck, O.	Chuchow, Ahhui	1914
Keeler, Henry B.	Standard Oil Co., Chinkiang ...	1916
Kemp, G. S. Foster	Public School for Chinese, Shanghai	1908
Kent, A. S.	<i>c/o</i> Shanghai Club, Shanghai ...	1913
*Kern, D. S.	Lynden, Ontario, Canada ...	1912
Kilner, E.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai ...	1909
King, Louis M.	British Consulate, Chungking, Sze	1911
King, Paul H.	26 Old Queen St., Westminster, London, S. W.	1886
Kinner, Henry R.	<i>c/o</i> Gibb, Livingston & Co., Shanghai	1907
Klein, Darré,	20 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai ...	1917
*Klien, Charles, F.R.G.S.	C. M. Customs, Shanghai ...	1916
Kloevekorn, Dr. ... ..	...	1914
Klubiem, J.	C. M. Customs, Shanghai ...	1913
Klubiem, S. A.	C. M. Customs, Mukden ...	1916
*Kranz, Rev. Paul	Grünenwald Str., 6 Steglitz, Berlin	1897
Krapf, Dr.	14 Yates Road, Shanghai ...	1912
*Krebs, E.	German Legation, Peking ...	1895
Krill, Joseph	Austro-Hungarian Consulate, Tientsin	1912
Kring, K. G.	Koolongsu, Amoy ...	1911
Krisel, A.	American Consulate, Shanghai ...	1914
Kronenberg, F.	106 Bubbing Well Road, Shanghai	1912
Kronenberg, Mrs. F.	" " "	1912
Krumling, Dr. F.	Tungjen, Kweichow... ..	1912
Kulp, D. H.	Baptist College, Shanghai ...	1915
*Kunisawa Shimbei,	South Manchuria Railway, 1 Yurakucho Ichome, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo	1917
Lacy, Rev. Dr. W. H.	10 Woosung Road, Shanghai ...	1909
Lake, Capt., P.M.B.	The Bund, Shanghai ...	1916
Lambertz, H.	German Club, Shanghai ...	1915
Landesen, Arthur C. von	H.I.R.M.'s Vice-Consul, Kobe ...	1909
Lanning, George	14 Medhurst Road, Shanghai ...	1908
Lanning, V. H.	Jardine, Matheson & Co., Shanghai	1916
*Latourette, K. S.	Oregon City, Oregon, U.S.A. ...	1912
*Laufer, Berthold, Dr.	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago	1901
*Laver, Capt. H. E.	13 Kungping Road, Shanghai ...	1912
Lay, W. G.	Commissioner of Customs, Swatow	1902
Leach, W. A. B.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai ...	1914

Name	Address	Year of Election
*Leavenworth, Chas. S. ...	313 Norton St., Newhaven, Conn., U.S.A.	1901
Leslie, T. ...	6445 Honan Road, Shanghai ...	1914
Leveson, W. E....	Municipal Offices, Shanghai ...	1905
Liddell, C. Oswald ...	Shirenewton Hall, near Chepstow, Monmouthshire	1908
Limpricht, Dr. W. ...	German Chinese School, Tientsin ..	1911
*Lindsay, Dr. A. W. ...	Chêngtu, Szechuen ...	1910
*Little, Edward S. ...	12 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai ...	1910
Lobenstine, Rev E. C....	5 Quinsan Garden, Shanghai ...	1916
Lockword, W. W. ...	2 Barchet Road, Shanghai ...	1913
Lucas, S. E. ...	Chartered Bank, Peking ...	1906
Lütgens, Alfred ...	German Consulate, Shanghai ...	1913
Luthy, Charles ...	Municipal Offices, Shanghai ...	1910
*Luthy, Emil ...	17 Yuen Ming Road, Shanghai ...	1917
*Lyall, Leonard ...	C. M. Customs, Peking ...	1892
Mabee, Fred C. ...	Baptist College, Shanghai ...	1912
Macbeth, Miss A. ...	9 Wong Ka Shaw Gardens, Shanghai	1915
MacDonald, W. ...	Maywood, Dingwall, Scotland ...	1912
MacGillivray, Rev. Dr. Donald	143 N. Szechuen Road, Shanghai ..	1908
MacGregor, D. ...	Municipal Offices, Shanghai ...	1913
Macleod, Dr. N. ...	8B Peking Road, Shanghai ...	1915
Macoun, J. H. ...	C. M. Customs, Nanking ...	1894
McRae, J. D. ...	Weihwei-fu, Honan ...	1914
MaGrath, C. D....	Mustard & Co., Shanghai ...	1910
MaGrath, Mrs. C. D. ...	" " ...	1910
Main, Dr. Duncan ...	Hanchow ...	1900
*Marsh, Dr. E. L. ...	8B Peking Road, Shanghai... ..	1908
Marshall, R. Calder ...	32A Nanking Road, Shanghai ...	1908
Martin, G. R. ...	Palipap Valley (Johore) Rubber Estates, Ltd., Kota Tiggi, via Singapore ...	1915
Martin, Mrs. W. A. ...	Bridge House, Nanking ...	1916
*Mason, I. ...	143 N. Szechuen Road, Shanghai...	1916
Mathieson, N. ...	Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai	1915
Maxwell, Dr. J. Preston ..	31 Hammelton Road Bromley, Kent England	1917
Maybon, Charles B....	247 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai ...	1911
Mayers, Sydney F. ...	The British & Chinese Corporation, Ltd., Peking	1907
McEuen, K. J. ...	Municipal Offices, Shanghai ...	1908
McFarlane, Rev. A. J....	Griffith John College, Hankow ...	1915
McGrew, Dallas ...	Intentional Bank, Shanghai ...	1917
McInnes, Miss G. ...	Municipal Offices, Shanghai ...	1913
McInnes, Miss L. ...	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, S'hai	1913
McNeill, Mrs. Duncan...	Snode Hill, Alton, Hants, England	1913
Mead, E. W. ...	British Consulate, Chengtu ...	1916
Medhurst, Rev. C. Spurgeon ...	50 Range Road, Shanghai ...	1911
Mell, Rudolf ...	German School for Chinese, Canton	1911
Mencarini, J. ...	13A Nanking Road, Shanghai ...	1884
Mengel, E. ...	Supt. Chinese Telegraphs, Yunnanfu	1913
Mennie, D. ...	A. S. Watson & Company, Limited	1916

Name	Address	Year of Election
Menzies, Rev. J. M. ...	Kaifengfu, Honan ...	1914
Merrill, H. F. ...		1910
Merriman, Mrs. W. L. ...	15 Ferry Road, Shanghai ...	1910
Merrins, Dr. E. M. ...	St. John's University, Shanghai ...	1916
Mesny, H. P. ...	20 Museum Road, Shanghai ...	1911
Mesny, General W. ...	Hankow ...	1914
Millard, T. F. ...	The China Press, Shanghai ...	1911
Miskin, Stanley C. ...	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Hankow ...	1913
Mitchell, Miss E. E. ...	Y.M.C.A., Shanghai... ...	1915
Mitchell, W. A. ...	Anderson, Meyer & Co., Shanghai... ..	1916
Moninger, Miss. M. M. ...	A. P. M. Kachek, Hoihow, Hainan ...	1916
*Moore, Dr. A. ...	Municipal Offices, Shanghai ...	1913
Moore, Rt. Rev. David ...	Indianapolis, Indiana, U. S. A. ...	1901
Morocma, Y. ...	Yokohama Specie Bank, Yokohama ...	1912
*Morgan, Rev. Evan ...	143 N. Szechuan Road, Shanghai ...	1909
Morris, Dr. H. H. ...	St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai ...	1914
Morriss, Mrs. Hayley ...	20 Weihaiwei Road, Shanghai ...	1914
Morrison, Dr. G. E. ...	Peking ...	1897
Morrow, E. K. ...	Meth. Episcopal Mission, Shanghai ...	1915
*Morse, C. J. ...	1825 Asbury Avenue, Evanston, Illinois ...	1901
Mortensen, W. ...	G. N. Telegraph Co., Chefoo ...	1913
Moule, Rev. A. C. ...	Littlebrey, Dorchester ...	1902
Mowjee, A. M. J. ...	Pabaney & Co., Shanghai ...	1913
Muller, Charles ...	8 Peking Road, Shanghai ...	1916
Münter, L. S. ...	G. N. Telegraph Co., Peking ...	1910
Neild, Dr. F. M. ...	3A Peking Road, Shanghai... ..	1916
Newcomb, Capt. Frank ...	c/o Butterfield and Swire ...	1917
*Nielsen, Albert ...	C. M. Customs, Kashing ...	1894
Nishiyama, T. ...	Yokohama Specie Bank, Bombay... ..	1910
Nord, Dr. H. ...	German Consulate, Hankow ...	1904
Norman, H. C. ...	The China Press Shanghai ...	1912
*O'Brien-Butler, P. E. ...	British Consulate, Mukden ...	1886
Ogilvie, Rev. C. L. ...	American Pres. Mission, Peking ...	1913
*Ohlmer, E. ...		1885
*Okamatsu, Dr. Santaro ...	Manchurian Railway Co., Tairen ...	1910
Oliver, Dr. A. E. ...	Rue d'Autremer, Hankow ...	1910
Ollerton, Joseph E. ...	11C. Nanking Road, Shanghai ...	1916
Ottewill, H. A. ...	H.B.M. Consulate, Chinkiang ...	1913
Ovesen, H. E. ...	Chinese Telegraphs, Chefoo ...	1910
Ouskouli, M. H. A. ...	126 Szechuen Road, Shanghai ...	1917
Paddock, Rev. B. H. ...	Yen Ping Fu, Foochow ...	1916
Pagh, E. K. ...	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai ...	1908
*Palmer, W. M. ...	Changchun, Manchuria ...	1914
Papini, E. ...	52 Boone Road, Shanghai ...	1916
Parker, Rev. Dr. A. P. ...	Anglo-Chinese College, Shanghai... ..	1901
Parsons, E. C. ...	12 Hankow Road, Shanghai ...	1916
Partington, T. Bowen ...	Anglo-Chinese College, Swatow, ...	1917
Patrick, Dr. H. C. ...	6 Hongkong Road, Shanghai ...	1912

Name	Address	Year of Election
Pearson, C. Dearne	69 Kiangse Road, Shanghai ...	1908
*Peiyang University Librarian...	Tientsin	1911
Pelliot, Paul	52 B'd Edgar Quinet, Paris ...	1901
Penfold, F. G.	32A Nanking Road, Shanghai ...	1916
Perkins, M. F.	American Consulate, Shanghai ...	1914
Pernitzsch, Dr. Gerhard ...	German Consulate, Shanghai ...	1910
Petersen, A.	East Asiatic Co., Hankow ...	1913
Petersen, V.	Chinese Telegraphs, Peking ...	1906
Petersen, V. A.	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai ...	1915
*Pettus, W. B.	Y.M.C.A., Shanghai	1915
Phillips, H.	British Consulate-Gen., Shanghai	1912
Phillips, Rev. L. Gordon ...	London Mission, Amoy	1917
*Plancey, C. Colin de	Bureau 15 Boîte No. 10 Paris, XVI	1877
Platt, Robert	Chicago University, Chicago, Ill ...	1917
Polk, Dr. Margt. H.	1 Young Allen Terrace, Shanghai ...	1915
Pott, Rev. Dr. F. L. Hawks ...	St. John's University, Shanghai ...	1913
Pott, W. S. A.	St. John's University, Shanghai ...	1914
Pousty, F. E.	Ningpo	1915
Pratt, J. T.	British Consulate, Tsinanfu ...	1909
Prentice, John	47 Yangtszepoo Road, Shanghai ...	1885
Pye, Rev. Watts O.	Oborlin, Ohio, U.S.A.	1917
Quien, F. C.	Netherlands Harbor Works, S'hai ...	1913
Quin, Mrs. J.	77 Avenue du Roi Albert, Shanghai	1916
Raaschou, T.	Danish Consul-General, Shanghai...	1912
Raeburn, P. D.	C. M. Customs, Shanghai	1916
Rankin, C. W.	18 Quinsan Road, Shanghai	1915
Rathvon, N. Peter	46 Rue Massenet, Shanghai	1916
Ravens, T. Bülow von	C. M. Customs, Shanghai	1903
Rayner, S. ... ..	...	1912
Rees, Alwyn H. H.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Shanghai ...	1917
Rees, Rev. Dr. W. Hopkyn ...	143 North Szechuen Road, S'hai ...	1914
Reid, Rev. Dr. Gilbert	International Institute, Shanghai ...	1907
Reifsnnyder, Dr. Elizabeth ...	Margaret Williamson Hospital, West Gate, Shanghai	1913
Reinsch, Dr. Paul	United States Minister, Peking ...	1916
Ride, W. Sheldon	National Review, Shanghai	1912
Ritchie, W. W.	Postal Commissioner, Nanking ...	1907
Roberts, D.	St. John's University, Shanghai ...	1916
Robinson, F. Alan	British Supreme Court for China, Shanghai	1914
Roots, Rt. Rev. L. H.	American Church Mission, Hankow	1916
Ros, G.	Italian Consulate-Gen., Shanghai	1908
Rose, Archibald, C.I.E....	British Consulate-Gen., Shanghai	1901
Rowe, E. S. B.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai ...	1907
*Sahara, T.	Shanghai Mercury, Shanghai ...	1908
Sammons, Hon. T.	American Consul-General, Shanghai	1915
Sargent, G. T.	B. A. T. 22 Museum Rd. Shanghai...	1917
*Sarkar, Prof. B. K.	11 Quinsan Gardens, Shanghai ...	1915
Sawdon, E. W.	Friend's High School, Chungking, Sze.	1916

Name	Address	Year of Election
Sayer, G. Burton	North-China Daily News, Shanghai	1908
Schab, Dr. von	20 Whangpoo Road, Shanghai	1901
Schaeffer, S.	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1913
Schirmer, Kurt	German Consulate-Gen., Shanghai	1903
Schmidt, K.	23 Weihaiwei Road, Shanghai	1888
Schröder, H.	Chee Hsin Cement Works, Tangshan	1916
Seranton, Dr. W. B.	44 Omi Cho, Dairen	1916
*Segalen, Dr. Victor	Palace Hotel, Shanghai	1917
Shaw, Norman	C. M. Customs, Shanghai	1912
Shengle, J. C.	23 Ferry Road, Shanghai	1905
Shipley, J. A. G.	18A Quinsan Road, Shanghai	1911
Silsby, Rev. J. A.	Presbyterian Mission, South Gate, Shanghai	1911
		1908
		1916
Simpson, B. Lenox	Peking	1915
Site, F. R.	U.S. Steel Product Co., Shanghai	
Smallbones, J. A.	M. C. Electricity Department, 66 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1913
		1908
Smith, A. E.	Mactavish and Lehmann, Shanghai	1917
Smith, J. Langford	British Consulate, Hangchow	
Sophokloff, G. A.	Chinese Eastern Railway, Chiao-she-chü, Harbin	1915
		1905
Sowerby, A. de C.	8 Gordon Road, Tientsin	1893
*Stanley, Dr. A.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai	1915
St. Croix, F. A. de	5 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	
Stapleton-Cotton, W. V.	Directorate General of Posts, Peking	1912
		1916
Stephen, Alex. G.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shai.	1911
Stewart, Rev. J. L.	Union University, Chengtu	1916
Stewart, K. D.	Maitland & Co., Shanghai	1912
Stockton, G. C.	American School, Shanghai	1914
Strehlneek, E. A.	45 Haskell Road, Shanghai	1909
Streib, U.	Rohde & Co., Shanghai	
Sykes, E. A.	Reiss & Co., Shanghai	1900
		1914
Tachibana, M.	Kiaochow Custom House, Tsingtau	1881
Talbot, R. M.	C. M. Customs, Nanking	1915
Tanner, Paul von	C. M. Customs, Kiukiang	1885
Taylor, A. Ll.	Arts and Crafts, Ltd., Shanghai	1885
*Taylor, C. D. Brewitt	Commissioner of Customs, Mukden	1908
Taylor, F. E.	C. M. Customs, Shanghai	1911
Teesdale, J. H.	3A Peking Road, Shanghai	1916
Tenney, Dr. C. D.	American Legation, Peking	1913
Thellefsen, E. S.	Gt. Northern Telegraph Co., S'hai	1913
Thomas, J. A. T.	Mustard & Co., Shanghai	1890
Throop, M. H.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1912
Ting I-hsien	C. M. Customs, Shanghai	1902
Toller, W. Stark	British Consulate, Ningpo	1907
*Tochtermann, Karl	C. M. Customs, Shanghai	1900
Touche, J. D. la	C. M. Customs, Chinwangtao	1911
*Trollope, Rt. Rev. Bishop M. N.	Seoul, Korea	1911
Tucker, G. E.	5 Peking Road, Shanghai	1915
Tucker, Mrs. G. E.	" " " "	1915

Name	Address	Year of Election
Turner, E. A.	Y.M.C.A., Hangchow	1915
Turner, R. C.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai	
Turner, Skinner, Judge...	British Supreme Court for China, Shanghai	
Twentyman, J. R.	24 Yuenmingyuen Road, Shanghai	1894
Tyler, W. F.	C. M. Customs, Shanghai	1915
Unwin, F. S.	C. M. Customs, Shanghai	1914
Van Corback, T. B.	c/o A. E. Algar, Shanghai	1913
Van der Woude, R.	8 Nanyang Road, Shanghai	1915
Van Norden, Warner M.	7 West 57th St., New York City	1910
Verbert, L.	20 The Bund, Shanghai	1913
Veryard, Robert K.	Y.M.C.A., Changsha... ..	1916
Vizenzinovitch, Mrs. V.	135A Range Road, Shanghai	1914
Wakefield, C. E. S.	C. M. Customs, Samshui	1912
Waller, A. J.	Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai	1916
Wang Chung-hui, Dr.	142B North Szechuen Road, S'hai...	1913
Ward, F. Kingdom	c/o Indian Expeditionary Force, c/o Postmaster, Bombay	1910
Warner, Mrs. Murray	2590 Green St., San Francisco	1909
Warren, Rev. G. G.	Wesleyan Mission, Changsha	1909
Washbrook, H. G.	6 Shih Ta Jen Hutung, Peking	1908
Watkins, Miss J.	Soochow	1914
Webster, Rev. James	Changsha	1911
Werner, E. T. C....	2 Maison Jeanne d'Arc, San T'iao Hutung, Peking	1915
Westbrook, E. J.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Shanghai	1916
Wheelock, T. R.	Wheelock & Co., Shanghai... ..	1914
*White, A. H.	White Bros., Bill Brokers, Shanghai	1915
White, Rev. H. W.		1915
White, Miss Laura M.	4 Tibet Road, Shanghai	1916
White, Rt. Rev. Wm. C.	Anglican Bishop of Honan, Kaifengfu	1913
Wilde, Mrs. H. R.	Cheftekov Building, Harbin	1915
Wilden, M.	French Consulate, Rue du Consular, Shanghai	1917
Wilhelm, Rev. Dr. Richard	Tsingtau	1910
Wilkinson, E. S....	North China Insurance Co., S'hai...	1911
Wilkinson, F. E.	British Consulate, Foochow	1909
Wilkinson, H. P.	3 Balfour Buildings, Shanghai	1909
Wilson, A. Sidney	3G Peking Road, Shanghai	1908
Wilson, Rev. J. Wallace	London Mission, Hankow	1901
Wilton, E. C.	British Legation, Peking	1900
Witt, Miss E. N....	16 Queensborough Terr., Hyde Park, London, W.	1912
Wood, A. G.	Gibb, Livingston & Co., Shanghai	1879
Wood, Dr. Julia N.	c/o H. P. Mohnk, West Falls, Eric County, New York	1914

Name	Address	Year of Election
Wright, S. F.	C. M. Customs, Kiukiang	1916
Wu Lien-teh, Dr.	Customs Buildings, Harbin	1913
Wu Ting-fang, Dr.	3 Gordon Road, Shanghai	1913
Yetts, Dr. W. Perceval	Junior United Service Club, London	1909
Young, R. C.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai	1912
Young, Rev. R.	American Mission, Chihchowfu, <i>via</i> Tatung	1913

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